

Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World

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Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World

Edited by

Richard Kirwan
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Introduction: The Risks, Rewards and Perils of Specialisation

Richard Kirwan

Early modern book markets were subject to myriad pressures, forces and interests acting in concert or competition. Markets were shaped by the dynamics of the relationships between readers, producers and patrons; by broader economic conditions; and by the enigmatic whims of fashion and taste. There was a multiplicity of markets, differentiated by geography, product types or readership; each one structured by a particular set of conditions and relationships. For patrons and producers of printed matter, success greatly depended on an ability to appraise markets effectively and to supply them efficiently.¹ That success could be measured by commercial and non-commercial criteria.² For certain corporate interests, for example, the dissemination of a particular message to target audiences through subsidised publications was far more important than any potential financial gain that might accrue from the enterprise. The welfare of unsponsored printer-publishers on the other hand was dependent on how well and how quickly they could sell the material they produced.³ In each scenario market responses to publisher initiative were a determinant of success.

- 1 On the importance of market appraisal see, for example, Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010), p. 67; James Raven, *The business of books. Booksellers and the English book trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007), p. 17. Raven identifies market appraisal and promotion as one of three essentials for success, the other two being the availability of financial assets and a productive versatility.
- 2 Rudolf Hirsch defines printing as a capitalist enterprise: Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, selling and reading, 1450–1550* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1967), pp. 12 & 27. For Ian Maclean success in printing was not necessarily measured by profit but by mere survival: Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, commerce, religion. The learned book in the age of confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 5 & 109.
- 3 This was a very competitive world which, according to Hirsch, was characterised by the “survival of the fittest (if not always the best)”: Hirsch, *Printing*, p. 29. An ability to anticipate the extent of demand and to limit the number of copies printed accordingly was of critical importance. See, for example, D.F. McKenzie, ‘Printing and publishing 1557–1700. Constraint on the London book trades’, in John Barnard & D.F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain, 1557–1695* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), vol. IV, p. 556 and Pettegree, *The book*, p. 71. Maclean characterises all printing ventures as “acts of speculation”: Maclean, *Scholarship*, p. 3.

In this context it was imperative that printer-publishers and/or the patrons of publishing ventures determine, court, direct and feed consumer appetites.⁴ To this end a variety of marketing strategies could be adopted.⁵ Many printer-publishers favoured the speculative production of material of broad and general appeal.⁶ These publications had a relatively long shelf life which increased the likelihood of an eventual sale. This general market was a crowded one, however, where many printers competed not only with one another but also with those involved in the re-sale of old stock. Another approach was to specialise in a particular type of product and/or in supplying a specific cohort of readers. This allowed printer-publishers an opportunity to set themselves apart from the mass of generalist printers with the prospect of financial reward. Considerable prescience was required in determining the character of any putative specialist market.⁷ Specialisation could also demand significant and costly investment in equipment, skills and relationships.⁸ Specialist markets were often fickle; reader appetites for a specialist product could evaporate within a few years of having first materialised and fashions were difficult to predict and follow. Once the hint of profit became evident, parasitical competitors could crowd into a developing market, adding further pressures on pioneering printer-publishers.⁹ As a consequence of these conditions, the degree of risk involved in supplying specialist markets was greatly elevated. Such heightened risk could be allayed by producing a spread of specialist and generalist publications.¹⁰ Diversification, however, was costly in terms of

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- 4 The need to direct reader tastes was a feature of the business of print from its inception when readers, used to the joys of manuscript, had to be 'retrained' in favour of print: see Pettegree, *The book*, p. 53. The training of reader expectations continued to be necessary when it came to specialist products.
 - 5 On the importance of the marketing of books see, for example, Pettegree, *The book*, pp. 75–77; Raven, *The business*, pp. 55–58; Robin Myers et al. (eds.), *Books for sale. The advertising and promotion of print since the fifteenth century* (New Castle, DE, Oak Knoll, 2009).
 - 6 Most printers were generalists in the main. See, for example, Pettegree, *The book*, p. 70.
 - 7 This often involved the search for new readers beyond the traditional groups whose interests could be more easily calculated: see Hirsch, *Printing*, p. 31. As James Raven points out, the development of new trade and tastes was a high risk game which brought failure as well as fortune: Raven, *The business*, p. 44.
 - 8 Even without the added costs of specialisation, printing was already an investment-heavy business. See, for example, Hirsch, *Printing*, p. 29; Raven, *The business*, p. 44.
 - 9 Although, as Pettegree maintains, domination of a specialist market by an individual could also have the effect of dissuading competition: Pettegree, *The book*, p. 70.
 - 10 Diversification could even extend to the conduct of other trades like money-changing or even the brewing of beer. See, for example, Maclean, *Scholarship*, p. 109.

investment and time and as a consequence it was not always a feasible option, especially for smaller firms.

This volume explores the character of early modern specialist book markets. In particular it is focused on the activities of the producers of specialist print: printer-publishers and institutional sponsors. Through a series of case studies it addresses the ambitions of specialist producers, the challenges involved in the production of specialist print and the various commercial strategies adopted in specialist publishing. The dynamics of patronal relationships within the world of specialist print are also addressed. Market responses to the initiatives of specialist producers are explored as are the mechanics of fashion and taste. The volume also affords insights into the factors which contributed to success or failure in early modern specialist publishing.

Specialist Book Production: A Spectrum of Risk

The commercial strategies of those involved in specialist book production varied considerably. The *modi operandi* of specialist publishers can be distinguished relatively in terms of the exposure to risk involved. Printer-publishers operating in entirely profit-orientated and unsponsored specialisations define one extreme in what may be described as a spectrum of risk. 'Not-for-profit' specialist operations which were subsidised or even directed by powerful interest groups to fulfil political or religious agendas define the other. The various specialist enterprises examined in this volume may be situated at or between these two points. A secondary spectrum defined by the relative importance of profit as a motive for specialist production, corresponding to that relating to risk, may also be observed.

A *High Risk Speculation: The Cultivation of New Markets and Tastes*

Those most exposed to risk comprised printer-publishers who speculatively sought to cultivate new markets and tastes. This involved attempts to stimulate consumer interest by developing entirely new products or by revising and reinvigorating existing formats. In this category one can also include those enterprising printer-publishers who sought to foster new audiences for existing specialist products.

One of the most innovative of fields of print was that of news. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the market for printed news was in the early stages of development and formats of news print were ill-defined and at a highly developmental stage.¹¹ As revealed by Andrew Pettegree in his study

¹¹ See, for example, Pettegree, *The book*, pp. 130–150; Pettegree, *The invention of news. How the world came to know about itself* (London, Yale University Press, 2014); Johannes Weber,

of the Antwerp newsman, Abraham Verhoeven, the business of printing and selling news could be an unforgiving one. Verhoeven entered the newspaper sector during its infancy in the 1620s with his *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. Conditions for his enterprise were initially favourable: he was granted a privilege to print news and he enjoyed access to the most current of information due to the fact that Antwerp was an important hub of the Habsburg empire. Verhoeven exploited the circumstances of the Thirty Years War to stimulate and supply an appetite for news of battles or, more particularly, for Catholic victories. Unlike other news publications of the time, he indulged the biases of his putative readership by producing highly partisan accounts of events. Illustrated and thematic, the format of his newspaper was also innovative. These were the foundations for Verhoeven's early success. Over the course of the 1620s a variety of factors, from his troubled family life to changing tastes, severely tested his ability to maintain market interest and his news business ultimately ended in failure. Specialisation in innovative fields such as news was a high-risk enterprise that required long-term adaptability and fortitude which, as the case of Verhoeven demonstrates, was often beyond the capabilities of a sole entrepreneur.

The risks of specialist enterprise are again revealed in the career of the seventeenth-century Nuremberg broadsheet publisher Paulus Fürst, which is examined in this volume by Roger Paas. Fürst became one of the leading German broadsheet publishers in the middle of the seventeenth century. He exploited a renewed post-war demand for print by developing and supplying a market for high quality, illustrated broadsheets. He was well placed to do so in that he possessed a reputation as a publisher of art prints and, consequently, had links to artists for the purposes of collaboration. Fürst's innovation brought him success but also attracted competition from Johann Hoffmann, a hard-nosed operator more concerned with profit than quality. These pressures combined with family problems to weigh heavily on Fürst, leading eventually to the failure of his business and perhaps also to his suicide. This case, like that of Verhoeven, suggests that whilst it might excite market interest initially, a capacity to innovate did not guarantee success in the longer term. Indeed in highly competitive fields, commercial nous and business efficiency were more essential than a concern for innovation or quality.

As Massimo Petta demonstrates in his discussion of the rise of the Malatesta family in the Milanese news world in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the more a venture extended beyond a single entrepreneur, the greater its capacity to prosper. The success of the Malatestas was very much rooted in the

¹Strassburg, 1605. The origins of the newspaper in Europe', *German History*, 24/3 (2006), pp. 387–412.

twinning of family and business interests across generations. The Malatesta family achieved market supremacy in a number of ways. They saturated the market place with their products; they exploited their links to the Governors of Milan and made much of their status as 'Royal Chamber Printers' to suggest official sanction for their news activities (this title was in fact in recognition of their privilege to print edicts only); they established themselves as a northern node in a network of news between Rome and Milan; they outperformed and suppressed competition. The relationship with their political masters of Milan was in fact crucial to their success. Although their use of the title of 'Royal Chamber Printers' was rather devious, the Governors of Milan permitted the abuse since it effectively placed the Malatestas in their debt. The Governors were eager to have pliant newsmen willing to deliver a version of news that suited their political interests. This patronal relationship was further solidified when an unprecedented monopoly over news production in Milan was granted to the Malatestas in 1637.

High levels of risk and innovation were not exclusive to the production of news but a feature of many specialist fields. The firm of Gülfferich, Han and heirs was highly speculative and inventive in its publishing over the course of three generations in Frankfurt am Main in the second half of the sixteenth century. Theirs was a successful enterprise which coincided with the rise of Frankfurt as a major printing and publishing centre. Indeed, as Ursula Rautenberg illustrates in her contribution to the volume, the firm was instrumental in the transformation of the city in this regard. The firm's success was in one sense due to the strength of its commercial organisation which was family orientated and trans-generational in design. Another foundation of their success (and indeed the rise of Frankfurt) was the concentration on the publication of vernacular popular literature, much of it prose fiction. This material was targeted at a growing readership and a lucrative market: an urban German language audience that increasingly included women and craftsmen in addition to citizens from the upper and middle classes. The firm's success in capturing and maintaining this market was not simply the result of commercial initiatives and positioning but also a consequence of an attention to developing and perfecting the quality of the books produced.

Isabella Matauschek's chapter on the de Brys' *Historia Indiae Orientalis* describes a highly profitable speculative venture which simultaneously penetrated a market for exotic knowledge and cultivated an appetite for this particular product. The de Brys' success lay in their ability to recognise the interests and needs of "armchair connoisseurs", i.e. a lay public without any immediate colonial or trading interest in the lands described in the series. The de Brys were able to reach this audience through a careful filtering of information and knowledge gleaned from other, often more practical and specialist sources.

The works of the de Brys presented this knowledge in a humanist idiom that would appeal to the sensibilities and expectations of these “armchair connoisseurs”. The de Brys were well positioned to enact this since the firm was also experienced in the production of humanist texts. Another pillar of the de Bry enterprise was the publication of emblem books which also shaped the production of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis*. Thus there was a remarkable efficiency in how the de Brys approached their business, allowing their various specialist interests to shape and support each other.

Bjørn Okholm Skaarup uncovers a less prescient speculative effort in his chapter on the changing fortunes of Juan Valverde’s anatomy of 1556. Originally designed as a specialised medical textbook targeted at Spanish surgeons, the work was quite unsuccessful in its first incarnation, due to a lack of demand for such a product among its envisaged customers. Success, however, came later when the work was produced for readers outside of this narrow target group. Valverde’s original intention was to furnish Spanish surgeons with new anatomical insights derived from the Vesalian revolution. Although not intended as a simple copy of Vesalius’s work, but as a mediation and improvement of it, Valverde’s publication was subject to charges of plagiarism. As time went by, Valverde’s work became more successful, and numerous new editions were published in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries. Indeed it began to be offered as a cheaper and more convenient alternative to Vesalius. Valverde’s work in this way found favour among an unexpected readership who appreciated it in ways not intended by its author. There is little by way of vindication for Valverde as a speculator in this eventual popularity. It points rather to the autonomy of the marketplace which allowed for the repurposing of an unpopular product to supply an unanticipated specialist need.

Each of these cases involved highly speculative specialisation where printer-publishers sought to anticipate and cultivate markets for new products. This was a risk intense approach to specialisation. These risks could be mitigated by the possession of privileges. However, as the case of Verhoeven illustrates, the protections afforded by a privilege were not necessarily sufficient to guard against the whims of fashion or the financial and social pressures of business life. As we have seen, the calculation of putative reader interest was more precise in some instances than others. The cases explored in this volume suggest that the successful gauging of reader appetites was merely a first step towards the building of a lasting specialist enterprise.

B *Demand and Supply: The Satisfaction of Existing Appetites*

Another commercial strategy frequently adopted by printer-publishers was to concentrate their activities on the supply of existing specialist markets where

demand had previously been established. Although less risk intense than a prospective gamble on the creation of new appetites, this approach did not guarantee success. Any presence of existing suppliers could have the effect of restricting market share and depress potential profits. If a printer-publisher was successful in connecting with consumers, their appetites for and loyalties to the specialist product had to be sustained by various means such as formal innovation, currency of content and pricing.

The production of a duodecimo edition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* by Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari in Venice in 1557 provides an example of how such innovation could help to feed and sustain established reader interest. Neil Harris demonstrates through forensic analysis of the typographical features of the two main issues of Giolito's edition of Petrarch, *maior* and *minor*, how the needs of diverse markets were efficiently met through astute production techniques and 'packaging'. In this case we find that ingenuity in the print works could help to satiate market demand for a multiplicity of specialist products aimed at a variety of customers of different pockets in an efficient manner which was firmly orientated towards the maximisation of profit. Specialisation in this sense was effectively a well-honed marketing strategy. As this case demonstrates, strategic nous, business acumen and commercial efficiency were of fundamental importance in the limitation of the risks and costs of specialisation.

Amelie Roper's contribution considers the production of and audiences for music print in Augsburg in the sixteenth century, with a focus on musical song-pamphlets and broadsheets. Roper notes that sixteenth-century music printing has traditionally been viewed as a quintessentially specialist trade. She demonstrates, however, that when a broader spectrum of music printing is taken into account, including song-pamphlets and broadsheets printed without musical notation, this view becomes untenable. During the sixteenth century the production of song-pamphlets and broadsheets constituted 73% of the music publishing output from Augsburg. A significant proportion of these works were produced by general rather than specialised printers. Song-pamphlets and broadsheets, of course, did not require the specialist skills and equipment needed to produce part-books and choir-books since they very often were printed without musical notation.

The production of elite formats of printed music is examined by Iain Fenlon in his chapter on the market for printed polyphonic choirbooks in Spain. This was served primarily by foreign imports from printing centres such as Antwerp and Lyon, thus conforming to the general pattern of supply for the Iberian book market. Some indigenous production of books of polyphony can be observed from the mid 1530s, although this was occasional in character. Interestingly, in spite of the technical complexity involved, this material was

for the most part published not by specialists but by generalist printers for whom the production of music was a peripheral segment of their output. Together with Roper's observations on Augsburg, this suggests that music printing was not as specialist as often assumed, even where notation was required. However, in the case of one such printer, Taberniel, who was active in Salamanca from 1602 to 1610, the production of books of polyphony seems eventually to have become his mainstay. Taberniel's was a small enterprise, however, which served the university and clerical elites of Salamanca. His case very much illustrates the limited scale of indigenous incursions into the market for polyphonic music books which remained dominated by imports.

Nina Lamal's discussion of the publishing and exchange of military books between the Low Countries and Italy in the early seventeenth century draws attention to the pan-European character of certain specialist markets. Lamal explores the activities of Antwerp publishers of Italian military handbooks and the subsequent printing history of their works in the early seventeenth century, concentrating especially on the output of Troгнаesius. From the first instance a diverse market, both local and international, was targetted by these Antwerp publishers, revealing a precise awareness of the geographical spread of demand for a very specific genre of print. Interestingly the three works of Troгнаesius examined by Lamal were reprinted in Venice and Milan between 1610 and 1626 rather than imported. This is significant in that it suggests that books made available at the Frankfurt Fair did not automatically cross the Alps to Italy which, as Lamal points out, was a relatively closed market at this stage. The reprinting of these Antwerp military books draws attention to the power of reader demand which ensured the satisfaction of appetites by whatever means necessary.

Kate De Rycker's chapter explores the activities of John Wolfe, the most prominent publisher of Italian works in London in the 1580s. Wolfe did not focus exclusively on this specialism. Indeed Italian print amounted to just 10% of his total output. Wolfe had worked in Florence in the 1570s which, as De Rycker suggests, may explain why a clique of Italian authors and editors formed around his print-shop and why he turned to the printing of Italian works. Another reason suggested is that the restrictions on the printing of foreign works were less onerous than those in place for English language items. De Rycker also suggests that Wolfe might have been attracted to this specialism by the opportunities it presented for profit through the export of banned books back to Italy. Wolfe's specialism was thus sustained through supplying two markets: a local network of readers in the form of Italian immigrants living in London; and a market for banned books in the Italian peninsula.

Existing demand was often such that it made viable the export of books not only within Europe but also far beyond. Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí

Ruiz, for example, explore the vibrancy of a trans-Atlantic trade in their chapter on European book exports to New Spain. They focus on the significance of catalogues of European books for sale in Mexico published in the 1680s in Seville. The catalogues reflect the enterprises of Seville booksellers, especially Tomás López de Haro who used the *Carrera de Indias* to supply the American market. The printer of the catalogues, Diego Crance, brother-in-law of López, travelled to New Spain in order to sell this material. The network was later represented by non family members after Crance experienced problems with the Inquisition. The catalogues reveal both the diversity of interests of the American audience and also the lengths to which López de Haro was willing to go to furnish their needs by obtaining books from the Low Countries, Venice, Paris and Cologne. This eagerness to predict and supply the diverse and specialist needs of this export market highlights not only the agility of the trading operation but also hints at the profits to be made from such enterprise.

On the face of it, the targetting of existing specialist markets, where demand was proven, was less risky as a strategy than the attempt to sell untested products. However, this approach also had its draw-backs. A printer could not 'strike gold' in the same manner as prospectors for entirely new markets might. Rather she or he had to make do with and compete for a share of existing markets. Significant efforts had to be made to out-run the competition which ultimately increased costs and decreased the margins for profit.

C *'Print On-demand': Reader-led Specialisation*

In addition to unsolicited, speculative enterprise on the part of printer-publishers, readers themselves could have a very direct involvement in the specialist book trade. Various interest groups from academics to government agencies often commissioned the publication of specialist works to meet their particular needs. In such cases, the risk attached to any independent speculative production was great or the opportunity for profit negligible: hence the need to engage printers directly to supply the specialist market.

Natasha Constantinidou's exploration of the printing of Greek classics in France and the Low Countries in the sixteenth century observes a market dynamic of this type. In the Low Countries the publication of Greek texts occurred very much as a co-operative venture between university men and printers. Given their specialist nature and the low numbers of potential customers, Greek classics were effectively 'commissioned' by university professors for teaching purposes. Thus in this case a specialist consumer had to intervene directly in the market to ensure that its needs were provided for. The dynamics of the French market for Greek classics were more complex. Its consumer base, for example, extended beyond universities. As a consequence the French market allowed

multiple printers of Greek texts to operate simultaneously. In spite of this greater diversity, the market remained small and careful attention to the needs of the niche audience was required. Aside from profit, the publication of Greek classics could convey a great measure of prestige, especially where royal patronage was afforded. In addition to status rewards, royal patronage afforded a competitive edge in that it allowed the chosen printer use of the special types which had been commissioned by Francis I and access to royal manuscripts. This conferred considerable advantage within this competitive, high-cost field of specialisation.

Rémi Mathis and Marie-Alice Mathis examine foreign language publishing in the Netherlands from 1500–1800. Their statistical approach seeks to identify reliably the general characteristics of specialist markets, especially with regard to how they related to the general book trade. The chapter highlights the merits and possibilities of statistical analysis and offers a model for future research of this type. Through the analysis of data from the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN), Mathis and Mathis ask whether it is possible in the first instance to distinguish one or more specialised markets. They then seek to discern the defining characteristics of these markets and to describe how they evolved over three centuries. This leads to an analysis of which foreign languages were involved in specific markets and the observation of trends in relation to the places of publication and the types of books published.

David McKitterick's reconstruction of the life and career of a consumer of scholarly books reveals the importance of reflecting more deeply on the appetites and interests of the specialist reader. McKitterick offers a bibliographical portrait of Adam Newton, tutor to Henry, the elder son of James VI/I. He does so primarily through an examination of Newton's library. This in turn leads to interesting questions concerning the nature of book collections as a source for historical research. McKitterick thus constructs a portrait of Newton through an examination of the books in his library; his commonplace book – which provides a further window into his reading habits; his own writings; and books dedicated to him. Proceeding judiciously in his examination of this material (Newton's papers having been diffused over time through movement and absorption into larger collections), McKitterick pieces together the life and career of this ambitious climber who was at the centre of Scottish and English public affairs for about 40 years, at the Jacobean and later Caroline courts.

Nikolaus Weichselbaumer explores systems for supplying the special needs of university scholars in the world before print. More specifically, he examines the emergence of the *pecia* system of manuscript reproduction at the universities of the thirteenth century. The *pecia* system allowed for efficient commercial copying of books for the specialist university market. Weichselbaumer examines the origin, management and disappearance of the *pecia* system. He

also questions the ultimate purpose of the system: was it designed primarily to provide an efficient supply of manuscripts to a particular market or was its purpose one of ensuring the quality of texts copied? This leads to an exploration of the character of the relationship between the universities and a dependent book trade. The *pecia* system was important as an early form and model of specialised publishing, one which was subsidised and heavily supervised by university authorities. The influence of academic sponsors on the specialised book markets and book production was to remain powerful into the age of print.

Huub van der Linden highlights the extent to which the business affairs and social lives of printers were intertwined in the early modern period in his chapter on the eighteenth-century Bolognese music publisher, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani. Van der Linden's exploration of the life and career of Silvani illustrates the challenges and perils faced by music publishers in the early modern period. Van der Linden focuses especially on the character and dynamics of Silvani's short-lived business partnership with the amateur composer, Count Pirro Capacello Albergati. As van der Linden demonstrates, the involvement of nobility in the printing business had become a common practice in eighteenth-century Italy. Noblemen gained prestige through an involvement in publishing by overseeing the production of certain types of favoured texts, whilst printers gained the financial capital necessary to advance their business interests. Albergati's links to Silvani were not only commercial but also through bonds of family since his relative, Antonio Albergati, was guardian to Silvani's wife. This complicated further the dynamics of their troubled association and added to the negative fallout when the relationship turned sour. As with many of the case studies examined in this volume, Silvani's highlights the often inextricable nature of the links between family and business interests in the early modern book trade.

Reader-led or on-demand production presented a relatively safe option for specialist printers. This was the most captive of markets. However, in most instances those who commissioned publications held the whip-hand when it came to business arrangements and profits were, as a result, hard won. A keen diligence to the enterprise was expected of printers. In this context relationships could easily become fraught.

D *'Not for Profit' Publication: Subsidised Specialisation*

As we have observed most specialist production was commercial in nature. Profit margins varied, of course, as did the relative potential of each market. More sluggish specialist markets often required a level of stimulus through reader intervention. These enterprises remained commercial nonetheless. However, the cases explored in this volume also include two which were not motivated by a commercial imperative. Both of these cases relate to Christian missionary

activities in the Ottoman empire and its shifting borderlands. In each case print was deployed as a tool to achieve missionary goals without regard for profit.

Paul Shore's contribution explores the specialist character, implications and significance of Jesuit book culture in the Habsburg lands east of the river Leitha during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Jesuit printing presses played an important role in efforts to engender confessional and cultural transformations in the eastern Habsburg lands from the 1660s onward. Central to Shore's exploration of these issues is a Rusyn language Catechism produced by the Jesuit press in Trnava in 1698. The design and content of the *Katekhis* reveals a complex set of considerations that in turn discloses much about Jesuit ambitions for this region. The spread of Habsburg rule eastwards into the Danube Basin in the late 1680s and the passing of Transylvania under Habsburg rule led to the expansion of Jesuit activities in regions with a diverse and complicated confessional heritage. In this context the Ruthenian Uniate Church was intended as a bridge between Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic models of devotion and as a component of a broad Jesuit programme to bring Eastern Christianity into union with Rome. The Ruthenian Uniate Church also provided a means through which the Rusyn-speaking population could hold on to a distinct identity. The *Katekhis*, as a Rusyn-language text, represented an acknowledgement of this Ruthenian identity as well as an attempt to advance the Jesuit programme. In this case we have a specialist publication which is sponsored as part of a missionary programme. This was not a commercial venture but a subsidised niche which fed a putative and fostered 'market'.

Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik also addresses the role of print in Christian missionary work in the east, in this case in the territories of the Ottoman empire. She examines the fortunes of two specialist printing houses: a Protestant one in Urach near Tübingen; and a Catholic print works in Rome. Both were established to promote missionary endeavour in the Ottoman empire. The character of each one was very similar: both were well patronised; both acquired specialists with appropriate and particular linguistic and typographical skills in order to ensure the quality of their output in the vernacular languages of the Ottoman Empire; both were part of rival confessional projects to missionise and forge alliances. In each case the missionary endeavour ultimately failed. However, the printed output did make its way to some extent onto the Ottoman market, although the manner in which it did so is unclear.

Specialisation: A Formula for Success?

Which factors determined success or failure when it came to specialisation? Which commercial strategies proved most rewarding? When compared, the

case studies examined in this volume allow some observations to be made in relation to these pertinent questions. A variety of elements had a bearing on whether a specialist enterprise failed or succeeded. The organisational and commercial characteristics of a specialist enterprise greatly determined its capacity to remain viable over the long term. In contexts where competition was keen, for example, more efficient and cost effective firms tended to succeed at the expense of those which were less so, even where the quality of output was affected. Indeed, as demonstrated by Fürst's interactions with Hoffmann or the dealings of the Malatestas with putative rivals, an aggressive and predatory approach to competition was a foundation for success. Organisational strength was also of the utmost importance. Family enterprises, for example, tended to cope better with the pressures of business than sole-traders, especially when they adhered to a unified set of commercial goals across the generations. The examples of Verhoeven and Fürst illustrate the weaknesses of a commercial strategy based on the efforts of one individual. Family enterprises such as that of the Malatestas, the de Brys, of Gölfferrich, Han and heirs, were clearly far better equipped to absorb the pressures of business. The network of associations beyond the printer's workshop was also of critical importance when it came to specialisation. Easy and ready access to specialist typographical and language skills or to particular forms of knowledge was in many cases vital. Links to powerful figures and institutions could also prove immensely valuable. Indeed, many specialist enterprises relied on patronage. As the cases examined in this volume demonstrate, sponsorship for specialist print came from a variety of sources: governments, universities and religious bodies. Monopolous control of specific markets, *de facto* or *de jure*, could arise from such patronage. Organisational strength alone, however, did not guarantee success. A sensitivity to the fluctuations of consumer appetites was absolutely essential for any would-be specialist printer-publisher. A keen understanding of the market was fundamental when attempting to cultivate new audiences for new products. Maintaining the interests of consumers was also a challenge and again required a sensitivity to the shifting sands of reader fashion and an ability to innovate in order to keep a product 'fresh'. The case studies examined in this volume suggest that survival in specialist markets was seldom built on one pillar alone. Indeed, the more these elements combined the greater the likelihood of success. In a world of high costs, heavy competition and fickle tastes, agility and resilience were essential in a would-be specialist publisher.

PART 1

***High Risk Speculation: The Cultivation of New
Markets and Tastes***

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Tabloid Values: On the Trail of Europe's First News Hound

Andrew Pettegree

In May 2012 I went into the British Library for a routine day's work. As is my normal practice coming down from St Andrews, I had ordered up a variety of texts, so that if one could not be delivered, I could work on something else. On this occasion my choices were an early run of the *Paris Gazette*, which did not turn up, and a volume entitled enigmatically in the British Library catalogue, the *Gazette of Antwerp*.¹ I knew this was not what it was, as the *Gazette of Antwerp* did not exist. What in fact emerged from behind this collective title was 335 small books, not separately enumerated in the catalogue, and all the work of one remarkable man: Abraham Verhoeven of Antwerp. This wonderful collection provided my first window on a spectacular and deeply original enterprise: the attempt to create a news serial in Antwerp. Antwerp had been the principal news hub of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century, but was now struggling to maintain its influence and prosperity in the face of the rising challenge of Amsterdam. Abraham Verhoeven was not one of Antwerp's best known printers. It is a brisk walk from the beautiful Renaissance mansion that houses the famous firm of Plantin Moretus, and away from the city's trading centre, before you find the quarter of small shops and dwellings where Verhoeven made a modest living as a seller of this and that, including playing cards and a few books. What propelled Verhoeven into the front rank of Antwerp's affairs was his attempt to exploit the heightened interest in current affairs in the early years of the Thirty Years War by creating a new pamphlet series devoted to publicising German and other international events. With what success, will emerge in what follows.

Of course, Verhoeven is not altogether unknown. Belgian scholars, in particular, have been keen to highlight his achievements, though the suggestion that he might have been the inventor of the newspaper cannot be sustained.²

¹ London, British Library: pp. 3444. af.

² Frans Jozef van der Branden, *Ontstaan van het Nieuwsblad te Antwerpen. Abraham Verhoeven, zijn leven, 1575–1652* (Antwerp, Buschmann, 1902). Alfons Goovearts, *Abraham Verhoeven van Antwerpen de eerste Gazettier van Europa* (Antwerp, Kockx, 1881). See also, most recently Stéphane Brabant, *L'imprimeur Abraham Verhoeven (1575–1652) et les débuts de la presse 'belge'*

That honour, it is now generally acknowledged, falls to Johann Carolus of Strasbourg, whose weekly news service was first distributed in printed form in 1605.³ But Verhoeven was certainly part of the first generation reacting to, and building on, this development in European news culture: and certainly one of the most innovative.

My interest in Verhoeven emerged from our decision to extend the coverage of the Universal Short Title Catalogue, our survey of books published in the first age of printing, into the seventeenth century, and so into the newspaper age. It fell to me to organise the survey of books published in the northern and southern Netherlands for the period 1601–1650, a survey that can draw on two useful, though quite different existing resources, the STC Netherlands and the STC Vlaanderen (Flanders). That documents 337 books published by Verhoeven, almost all of them news pamphlets. Because I was simultaneously writing a history of news, alongside this bibliographical work, this seemed an interesting group of books with which to spend my time; hence my trip to the British Library.

It swiftly emerged that the corpus of the British Library pamphlets was overlapping but not identical to those already documented in the STCV. I also knew from one of our data downloads that the Museum Plantin Moretus had a collection of Verhoeven works, and this seemed to be different again. This was not a great surprise. The STCV is often assumed, even by apparently informed commentators, to be the equivalent, for the Southern Netherlands, of a national bibliographical catalogue, a sort of Belgian STC; but this is very far from the case. For a start it deals only with the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, ignoring Wallonia altogether. Politics plays a part in all this. Because it is financed by the Flemish regional government it deals exclusively with the Flemish cultural heritage; but one unintended by-product is that the Royal Library in Brussels, as a federal institution, may not participate. As it happened I was already due to travel on from London to Brussels, so I decided to follow the trail of Verhoeven and see where it took me. What I found was more than I had bargained for. The online catalogue of the Royal Library in Brussels is complete only for accessions from 1975, so I usually fall back on their old card imprint catalogue in the rare book room. This has some references to Verhoeven, so I ordered these for the next day and set off for Antwerp.

(Paris, A.E.E.F, 2009). See also Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix. How they brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550-1700* (Leiden, Brill, 2014).

3 Johannes Weber, 'Strassburg 1605. The origins of the newspaper in Europe', *German History*, 24/3 (2006), pp. 387–412.

The STCV documents Verhoeven's activities fairly fully for the years 1620 and 1621, the first years of his regular newsletter. The Museum Plantin Moretus in Antwerp yielded up another 100 pamphlets in one, largely uncatalogued volume, which stops abruptly in June 1622. Was this because Verhoeven went out of business? No, as it turned out; I was able to complete the year with a volume in Amsterdam, where I happened to be due for a meeting the same Friday. Meanwhile back in Brussels I was able to infill the pre-history of the news venture with a bunch of pamphlets from 1617 and 1618, and document the development of the news service in 1619. All told, by the end of a frenetic week, I have approximately doubled the number of editions recorded in the STCV.

This week's work also raised one other issue very material to our project, particularly now that by extending the USTC into the seventeenth century we had entered the era of the newspaper. With the work in Antwerp and Amsterdam I had logged 142 issues for 1622, but the last issue in December of this year is numbered 178. Should we assume that the missing numbers were published, and have disappeared, and so include them in our bibliography? What to do with lost books is an issue that divides bibliographers, with some proceeding strictly on the basis of books where a surviving copy can be documented and examined. For instance, only if their team members have had a book in hand will an item be included in the STCV or STCN. But if you are aspiring to create as complete as possible an account of the original production of books, a universal catalogue, you have to take some account of books known to have been published but not now traceable in a library collection. So I entered the lost issues. As it happened most of them subsequently turned up: some in a volume in the BNF in Paris, again a single entry in their catalogue but comprising 165 items; some others in the Museum Meermanno in The Hague.⁴

The BNF catalogue description also sent me hurrying to consult the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, a bibliography with rather elastic criteria for inclusion.⁵ Its list of editions for the sixteenth century is effectively superseded by the *Belgica Typographia*, so we did not make much use of it in the first phase of the USTC. Although it aspires to be a complete listing of books published in the Netherlands in this period, it is in fact far from complete. But it also offers a selective coverage of later works by authors from Holland and Belgium, and this includes, providentially, a very valuable article on Verhoeven. Included here was an extensive listing of his news pamphlets for the years 1623 to 1629; most of which are, according to the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, in the Royal Library in

4 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés G 2761–2762.

5 Ferdinand van der Haeghen & Marie-Thérèse Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (6 vols., Brussels, Editions Cuture et Civilisation, 1979). [Hereafter BB].

Brussels.⁶ Since I had been in this library the week before, I knew these copies were to be found neither in the online nor the card catalogue, so I was rather at a loss how to pursue this. In the event I asked a friend to go in and see if the Brussels copy of the *Bibliotheca Belgica* was annotated with call numbers, a fairly common practice in the rare book rooms of major libraries. It was. I ordered them up, and saw them on my next trip back to Brussels in August. So now my bibliography for Verhoeven had grown to 1,476 items; almost exactly four times the number in the STCV, the Belgian national bibliography.

My search for Verhoeven had already led me to four of the world's great libraries, none of which had given in their catalogues a hint to the extent of their holdings. In Paris a substantial cache of books was concealed behind a single catalogue entry. This was, in a strange way, a tribute to Verhoeven's success, for in the years between 1617, when he first began printing his news pamphlets, and 1622, when he perfected his method, Verhoeven was looking for the best way to maximise income from news publication. What he wanted was for his customers to take out a regular subscription, binding the separate numbers together at the end of the year. The fact that this was by and large how they survive suggests the shrewdness of this strategy. But it does mean that libraries tend to have either a lot of Verhoeven or none at all.⁷

Nevertheless we are now in the position, thanks to the libraries I have visited, to reconstruct Verhoeven's unusual career as a printer and newsman. For this purpose I will also be drawing on the work of the Antwerp archivist Frans Jozef van der Branden, who at the very beginning of the last century extracted from the Antwerp archives any references he could track down to Verhoeven's life and business dealings.⁸ These tell us a very great deal that the books cannot, much of it very pertinent to any assessment of his success as a businessman.

Abraham Verhoeven was born in Antwerp in 1575. He was born into the trade; his father was a cutter of prints, and for three years worked in the Plantin workshop colouring engravings before they went on sale. When in 1585 the city fell to Parma's Spanish army, the family committed itself to Catholicism, a commitment from which Abraham never subsequently wavered. After a long apprenticeship, probably with his godfather Hendrik Wouters, Abraham got his first major break as an independent artisan in 1605, when he offered on the

6 BB V 472–678.

7 I haven't yet tracked down any to speak of in Munich, Wolfenbüttel, Vienna, Madrid, Copenhagen, Oxford or most of the major American libraries. The holdings of the Folger Library in Washington have recently been examined and described by Goran Proot.

8 Van der Branden, *Ontstaan van het Nieuwsblad te Antwerpen*.

market an illustrated print of the battle of Ekeren, a decisive victory for the southern Netherlandish forces over the marauding Dutch. The success of this and two subsequent topographical battle prints encouraged the young master to appeal to the Archdukes for a privilege, offering him protection from unauthorised copying.⁹

As was the case with many young tradesmen, this ambitious business initiative had been made possible by a strategic marriage. In 1604 Abraham had married Susanna, daughter of Antoon Spierincx, a successful manufacturer of playing cards. Although initially disapproving, the father-in-law had softened sufficiently to provide his daughter with a capital sum to allow the young couple to buy their own business premises. With this, and the triumph of the illustrated news prints, Verhoeven was riding high, but domestically the marriage was not a happy one. Although blessed with four sons, soon the young couple were at war, and in 1617 Susanna returned to her parents taking with her the most valuable clothing and furniture, but not the four children. Susanna's parents took their daughter's part, initiating a family feud that would prove for Verhoeven both emotionally draining and financially ruinous. Most dangerously they set up Susanna's brother Jan in direct competition with the estranged husband. This led to litigation, in which Abraham was successful, and a provisional return of Susanna to the marital home. But there was no respite from the snide mockery of neighbours, some of whom Verhoeven suspected of dallying with his promiscuous wife. A series of drunken altercations brought Abraham back before the magistrates, and on one occasion led to him being stabbed dangerously in the chest by a neighbour he had previously beaten up.¹⁰ These domestic trials play an important part in the narrative, distracting Abraham at precisely the moment when his news venture was taking mature shape. Verhoeven's career would end in financial failure, and it is hard to know whether this was because of a flaw in the business model of his news service or as a result of the persistent malignant feud with his well-connected in-laws. I suspect the latter, since, as we will see, the news serials sold extremely well.

After the early success of the topographical battle prints, Verhoeven seems to have survived mostly on jobbing work, and perhaps his wife's capital, until 1617. In that year we see the beginnings of something more systematic and ambitious, with the publication of a sequence of pamphlets that combined a digest of topical news with a rudimentary illustration. Such news pamphlets were not themselves a novelty. Sixteenth-century Antwerp was an established

9 See Christiaan Schuckman, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700* (Roosendaal, van Poll, 1990), vol. XXXV, pp. 217–226, nos. 2–5.

10 Van den Branden, *Ontstaan van het Nieuwsblad*, p. 30.

news hub, and many of its printers published pamphlet descriptions of notable events; some might even be considered specialists in the genre. But none gave their entire published output over to such publications, as would be the case with Verhoeven.

By the time Verhoeven was becoming established, in the early seventeenth century, the world had moved on. By this time Antwerp faced competition as Europe's northern metropolis of commerce and information from the rising power of Amsterdam: and it was there, in 1618, that the first Dutch weekly newspapers were published, in imitation of the German papers already published in Strasbourg, Wolfenbüttel and Frankfurt.¹¹ But Antwerp still possessed a number of important attributes, not least proximity to Brussels, the northern centre of Habsburg power and the northern terminus of the Imperial postal network. This gave a favoured publisher access to some very privileged channels of information; and Verhoeven, despite his turbulent life and public humiliations, certainly enjoyed a large measure of official support. One of the earliest Verhoeven news pamphlets makes a sly reference to Antwerp's privileged position as a news hub, in a title worth quoting in full:

An account of occurrences here, and in Italy, France and Germany. Also how the courier from Antwerp to Paris is apprehended by soldiers of the Prince [of Condé] and taken as a prisoner to Noyon.¹²

For Verhoeven's mercantile clientele this was an irresistible invitation to buy and read on, because they had to know that their correspondence and goods could be safe on the road. Verhoeven pressed home his advantage:

We will let our reader know every eight or nine days what has happened in foreign lands. Printed by Abraham Verhoeven of Antwerp, on the Lombardveste at the sign of the Golden Sun.¹³

11 Folke Dahl, *Dutch corantos, 1618–1650. A bibliography illustrated with 334 facsimile reproductions of corantos printed 1618–1625, and an introductory essay on 17th century stop press news* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1946).

12 *Verhael van t'principaelste datter nu onlanckx gheschiedt is, so wel hier te Lande als Italien, Vranck = rijk en Duytslant. Noch hoe den Courier van Antwerpen op Parijs is ghevanghen gheweest van s'Princen volck ende ghevangen gebrocht binnen Noyons* (Antwerp, Verhoeven, 1617). BB V 461 V 223.

13 Van den Branden, *Ontstaan van het Nieuwsblad*, p. 27.

This promise of regular publication was not initially realised. Despite the large growth in demand for news with the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618, Verhoeven's publication of news pamphlets was steady, without achieving either large volume or regularity, throughout 1618 and 1619. These were the years when his personal troubles were at their most enervating. It was only in 1620 that Verhoeven achieved the regular serial publication promised in the three years before. But what was then established was both more ambitious, and different in character, from anything available elsewhere in Europe.

By now Verhoeven had a concept that would give him a dominant place in the Antwerp news market. It would blend his considerable experience as a publisher of news pamphlets with his established expertise as an engraver. But he was determined not to be undermined by competitors, or imitators: once again he appealed to the Archdukes for a privilege. On 28 January 1620 this was granted; and the terms show very clearly the way in which the venture was conceived by both Verhoeven and the authorities in the Southern Netherlands. The privilege granted Verhoeven the exclusive right to publish:

All the victories, sieges, the taking of towns and castles accomplished by his Imperial Majesty in Germany, Bohemia and other provinces in the Empire.¹⁴

This, in a nutshell, encapsulated Verhoeven's mission, and the extraordinary contrast between this and any of the other news serials published in Germany and Holland to this date.

Since the first days of print it had been an axiom of all European governments, eager to shape the political perceptions of their subjects, that 'bad news is no news'.¹⁵ This was particularly so in time of war. News from the front concentrated on victories, triumphant entries, royal births, marriages and favourable treaties. Those with an occupational need to discover the true state of affairs – Europe's merchants for instance – had to look elsewhere; either to pamphlets published abroad or to the manuscript newsletters. In deliberate contrast to the partisan tradition of news pamphlets, the manuscript news services concentrated on the provision of dispassionate information, without

14 Van den Branden, *Ontstaan van het Nieuwsblad*, p. 31.

15 K. van Damme & J. Deploige, "Slecht nieuws geen nieuws". Abraham Verhoeven (1575–1652) en de Nieuwe Tijdinghen: periodieke pers en propaganda in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de vroege zeventiende eeuw, *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 113 (1998), pp. 1–22.

comment of any sort.¹⁶ It was this tradition, rather than that of the pamphlets, that the first newspapers sought to emulate. Like the manuscript newsletters, the first newspapers presented a sober, orderly procession of short, clipped news reports, datelined with their place of origin. They offered no comment, context or explanation. They assumed a high level of political literacy, because if the reader did not know the location of a place under siege, or the significance of a diplomatic embassy, they were not told.

Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was a deliberate departure from this tradition, a return to the more committed style of the news pamphlets, now organised as a regular serial and sold, like the newspapers, on a subscription basis. It thus united two quite separate print news genres. Its commercial potential, in a large city such as Antwerp, was obvious, particularly as Verhoeven was assured of official support and protection. Verhoeven was to deliver 24 copies of each issue to the Antwerp town council, in return for a generous subvention. And he was to report only victories.

Fortunately for a newsman committed to the Imperial cause, in the early 1620s there were plenty of victories to report. As the foolhardy ambitions of Frederick of the Palatinate crumbled on the battle-field, Habsburg forces swiftly established a crushing ascendancy. Verhoeven reported all this with an eager partisan relish. Whereas the Dutch and German newspapers maintained a steady weekly service, Verhoeven offered his readers up to three eight-page pamphlets a week: a torrent of wickedly committed, exultant reports of Imperial victories and Protestant humiliations. These were not the sober miscellanies that German readers would expect for their weekly subscription. Verhoeven's pamphlets very often gave the whole issue to a single extended report, in the old pamphlet style. Usually this would be a report from the front, sometimes couched as a despatch from the imperial camp or a letter. But he also offered more literary material: some of the issues mocking Frederick were entirely in verse.

16 The fundamental literature is the work of Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Rome, Lazerza, 2002). Id., 'From merchants' letters to hand-written political avvisi. Notes on the origins of public information', in Francisco Bethercourt & Florike Egmond (eds.), *Correspondence and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 33–52 and 'Roman Avvisi. Information and politics in the seventeenth century', in Gianvittorio Signorotto & Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 2002). See also now Andrew Pettegree, *The invention of news* (London, Yale University Press, 2014), Chapter 5. An ongoing project to document in full the newsletters received and archived by the Fuggers of Augsburg is currently in progress in Vienna: <http://www.univie.ac.at/fuggerzeitungen/en/>.

These pamphlets were then, unrepentantly propagandistic in nature, but they also showed a precocious sense of what we would regard as news values. They were far more appealing, visually and textually, than most early newspapers. The Amsterdam newspaper the *Courante uyt Italien* was an austere double sided broadsheet of densely packed text. Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was a small booklet with an illustrated title-page, in the old news pamphlet style. This consisted of a heading, which summarised the main or most interesting contents, with the bottom half given over to a jaunty woodcut: a battle scene, a topographical diagram of a city under siege or a portrait of one of the leading generals.

That this seems worthy of comment may strike some as rather surprising, because these are features of news that we take for granted: that the most important stories will be given the most prominence and that the gist will be encapsulated in an evocative headline. But this was not the case with the first German and Dutch newspapers. Because of the way in which news was assembled, from despatches and manuscript newsletters as they arrived during the week, the contents generally followed no clear thematic or narrative thread. News was arranged as a series of despatches from various news-hubs: from Rome 13 July, from Vienna 16 July, from Cologne 18 July. Since it was set up in type as the week wore on, the most recently arrived news thus tended towards the end of the paper. But it was not necessarily the most recent news, as the news might have taken many weeks to get to its gathering point.

No wonder newspapers needed sophisticated readers. In respect to their design they followed closely the subscription manuscript services, which had circulated in restricted circles of the politically active. The first newspapers were essentially a mechanised version of the same format. This gave them a wider circulation, but without making any concession to the different circumstances of the new readers. Verhoeven, in contrast, took the more venerable format of the news pamphlet, and turned this into a regular series. This was radically different from what was on offer in Amsterdam or Germany. Whereas the newspapers, like their manuscript progenitors, aspired to factual reporting without comment, the sixteenth century news pamphlets had been partisan, committed and often ribald. Whereas the newspapers offered a sequence of clipped reports, news pamphlets characteristically gave over a whole issue to a single event: they could explain, contextualise and draw a moral. This was the tradition, incubated in sixteenth century Antwerp, which Verhoeven so enthusiastically embraced.

And with this his venture flourished. In Antwerp, recovering under the shrewd management of the Archdukes from the demoralisation and economic decline that followed the painful separation from the Northern provinces,

there was plenty of appetite for pamphlets that celebrated, with unabashed enthusiasm, Catholic success in the first years of the Thirty Years War. The extent to which Verhoeven's venture flourished in this context only became fully clear when one examines the pamphlets in more detail. The pamphlets of the years between the beginning of serial publication in 1620 and the closure of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* in 1629 numbered 1336 issues. There were 116 issues in 1620, a remarkable 192 in 1621 and 182 in 1622. Between 1623 and 1627 only once did the number fall below 140. This is already impressive, but it becomes more so, and more complicated, when we begin to compare different surviving copies. Because some of the pamphlet collections in the different libraries overlap there may be two, three or even four copies of a particular issue now extant, though many survive in a single copy. All told we have around 3,000 copies, an average of just over two copies per issue.

Now the practice of the USTC team is that with small works like this we endeavour to examine every surviving copy. This is because we have often found that items indistinguishable from catalogue entries turn out to be quite different editions. This can even be the case where the title-page appears to contain identical information – the same date and the same printer. Of course making comparisons between two books in different libraries is not easy, even if one completes a full bibliographical description: one is often left wondering whether a discrepancy is real or the result of a false key stroke in describing the first copy. This becomes particularly frustrating when dealing with books in libraries that do not allow photography, or only on cumbersome and ruinously expensive terms. Unfortunately this then applied to at least two of the holders of major runs of the Verhoeven pamphlets (the British Library and the BNF in Paris).

One way of resolving this issue is to employ a technique known as finger-printing. This attempts to isolate a unique feature of each edition that can be described as a line of code.¹⁷ There are two competing systems, which each have their defenders, but for pamphlets I use the STCN fingerprint. This takes the signature marks at the bottom of stipulated leaves, and notes the characters immediately above. The theory underpinning this methodology is relatively straightforward. Most reprint editions of early printed pamphlets are set up from another printed copy. This is much easier than setting up from a manuscript, because the compositor did not need to calculate how much text was needed for each page: he simply replicated the printed text in front of him.

17 The best recent discussion of finger-printing is Neil Harris, 'Tribal lays and the history of the fingerprint', in David Shaw (ed.), *Many into one. Problems and opportunities in creating shared catalogues of older books* (London, CERL, 2006), pp. 21–72. Privately reprinted with errata.

Sometimes this copy is so faithful that the body of the text is virtually indistinguishable. But there was no need to be so careful about where to place the signature marks beneath the text body: hence the reprint would very likely have a different finger-print. And I did in fact identify by this method that a number of Verhoeven's serials were republished in this way. What I imagine occurred here is that Verhoeven printed on each occasion the number required for his regular subscribers, and perhaps a few over for retail sale; if demand was particularly high for an individual issue he would run off another batch.¹⁸

This makes very good sense, and is not at all unusual amongst publishers of religious or current affairs' pamphlets. But then I noticed something else. In some cases two copies of the same text would have different dates of publication: one would be 24 October and the other 28 October. In other cases the approbation, the indication that the text had been approved by the censor, was missing from the end, whereas in another copy of the same work it was present. Yet the finger-print was identical. The two copies appeared to be part of the same edition. What was going on here? There are two possible explanations, one relevant to each of the cases described above. Firstly, it is possible that when Verhoeven printed off his first batch, he kept the types set up in the formes in case some more were needed. If he sold out, and thought there was continuing demand, a few days later he would print off a few more, punctiliously changing the date (but not the issue number: this was still issue '132'). Leaving the formes set up in this way was known as 'standing type', and it was a practice not generally approved of: for larger books it was in any case impossible to tie up so much type in this way. For small pamphlets like the news books Verhoeven could probably afford to leave the formes intact for a few days, and he was in sufficiently good odour with the authorities not to have to worry about complaints from industry competitors (or his own compositors). As luck would have it, the British Library had all three examples of an issue published with three different dates: on 6 November, 12 November and the third more vaguely dated "in November".¹⁹ I was able to examine them with some care, and confirm that in all other respects but the date the three copies are identical.

The other case deals with instances where the city's approbation – certifying that the contents had been examined and approved – appears in some copies

18 See, for instance, *Nieuwe tijdinghe wt Polen, Duytslandt, Italien, ende Brussel in Brabant. October. 1621, issue 153*. BB V 524 V 197. Antwerp, Heritage Library, fingerprint: 000004 – b1 Yyy 2 \$gheko: b2 Yyy 3 s-bissc. London, British Library: 000004 – b1 Yyy 2 \$met\$d: b2 Yyy 3 ijt\$hee.

19 *Verhael hoe dat sijn Ex. Marquis Spinola, November 1621*. pp. 3444. af (131–133).

but not others. This is interesting in another way, since it draws attention to the complexity of censoring news publications. Most cities, Protestant or Catholic, established, at least in theory, a system of pre-publication censorship, requiring that any new texts be submitted to officials appointed for the task before they were put to the press. In fact this seldom functioned efficiently.²⁰ The officials concerned, normally senior clerics in Catholic cities, and senior magistrates in Protestant jurisdictions, were busy people, and could not just drop everything to read new texts. Frustrated printers often simply went ahead with the publication, particularly if they deemed the contents uncontentious. Now Verhoeven's was an official enterprise and he had not the slightest interest in stepping out of line. He proudly displayed both his privilege, and a note, at the end, of the official examination of contents.²¹ But news publications were particularly time sensitive: if the examining official was tied up, out of town or indisposed, the opportunity to publish might be lost altogether. In these cases Verhoeven seems to have gone ahead, and if the authorisation arrived while the issue was on the press, added an additional line of type to the remaining copies.

Taking into account these three different forms of variation, the difference in fingerprint, a difference in the date on the title page, and the presence or absence of the approbation, the number of documented issues multiplied further. Take the year 1621, where I have had the opportunity to compare the extensive run in the British Library with that in the Antwerp Heritage library. In this year Verhoeven published 192 numbered issues: the highest number he would publish in the whole decade. But taking into account re-prints, refreshed editions and other variations that rises to an even more impressive 252 bibliographically distinct items. It makes a remarkable enterprise even more so: and demonstrates, in this year in particular, the astonishing public demand for Verhoeven's news service.

By 1621 Verhoeven had created a highly successful business, and he was determined to make the most of it. But we can also see that it had taken him a little time to arrive at a product with which he was entirely satisfied. In the early years we see Verhoeven experimenting with the best means of luring, and keeping his audience. In 1620, the year he received his privilege, Verhoeven issued 116 news pamphlets: this year, we must assume, marked the beginning of his subscription service. But it was only in 1621 that he decided to make the pamphlets part of a numbered sequence, and incorporate this numbering into the top of the title-page. Typographically they remained separate works, but

20 For Germany see the excellent study by Allyson Creasman, *Censorship and civic order in Reformation Germany, 1517–1648. Printed poison and evil talk* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2012).

21 Usually a single line with the initials of the examining officer: 'Finis. V.C.D.W.C.A.' This example is taken from issue 70 of 1622, BB V 543.

from about June Verhoeven began to experiment with giving the pamphlets sequential signatures: one issue would be gathering A, the next B and so on. This was to assist subscribers when they came to bind issues together at the end of the year, and presumably to encourage them, and new purchasers, not to miss any issues. After some false starts this system became his settled practice from the beginning of 1622.

By this time, too, Verhoeven had established the distinctive character of his news serials. They were characterised, firstly, by a great deal more stylistic variety than the Dutch and German newspapers. Some issues of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* were, like other newspapers, given over to a miscellany of small items. Others were entirely occupied by a single despatch, or a couple of songs celebrating some Imperial triumph.²² Appearing three times a week gave Verhoeven considerable freedom to entertain as well as inform his subscribers, but over the week they would probably have got much the same amount of news as subscribers to the Amsterdam papers. By giving up space for a title page, and often repeating in full the privilege on the back page, Verhoeven much restricted the space for actual news: in any one issue the whole text would not exceed around 1,200 words. It was short, lively and easily digested.

Verhoeven's most characteristic innovation was the illustrated title-page. The title for the issue of 16 December 1620, inevitably focussing on the events of the Thirty Years War, reads: "News from Vienna and Prague, with the number of the principal gentlemen fallen in the battle". The illustration bears the explanatory rubric, "The fort of the Star where the battle was fought". The sub-heading drives home the message of this Catholic victory: "Frederick V has been driven away".²³ But for the fact we know this to have been part of a serial, it could have been one of the Antwerp news pamphlets published 50 years before, with its descriptive title, sub-title and jaunty woodcut. The title picked out the story most likely to interest readers – the origins of the headline – but this would not necessarily be the first report in the text, or indeed the story that occupied most space. Thus the headline of issue 112 in 1621 focussed on the burial of the recently slain Imperial General Busquoy.²⁴ But readers would

22 Anna Simoni, 'Poems, pictures and the press. Observations on some Abraham Verhoeven newsletters (1620–1621)', in Francine de Nave (ed.), *Liber amicorum Leon Voet* (Antwerp, 1985), pp. 353–373.

23 This title-page is reproduced in Folke Dahl, *The birth of the European press as reflected in the newspaper collection of the Royal Library* (Stockholm, Rundqvists Boktryckeri, 1960), p. 18.

24 *Augustus, 1621. 112. Tijdinghe wt weenen, ende hoe dat het doodt lichaem...van Bucquoy, binnen...Weenen op chrijschmaniere...is ghebrocht, ende in baren ghestelt, inde kercke vande minimen.* BB V 517, V 197.

have discovered this only as a small report on page seven. The issue begins with a despatch from Rome, and proceeds through an earlier report from Vienna, then Wesel, Cologne and Cleves before arriving at the Vienna despatch dealing with Busquoy. Nor was the woodcut illustration a particularly clear steer to the most important contents. In this case the illustration was a generic bastion fortress rather than a portrait of Busquoy (although Verhoeven used such portraits many times). The title-page illustration of issue 109 in the same month was a composite of two small woodcuts showing galleys battling a sailing ship, which could only relate to a small report from Rome on page four. The woodcuts, one may assume, were Verhoeven's own work. Many were very nicely executed, others considerably more crude. By 1621 he had built a considerable stock, but regular subscribers would soon have seen his favourites many times.

Keeping up with events, and the relentless pace of publication, would have strained a publishing firm much larger than that of Verhoeven. Most early newspapers were managed by a single editor/proprietor. A weekly publishing programme left sufficient space to read the incoming reports, make the necessary selection and see it to the press. This was clearly not possible for Verhoeven. Co-workers or editorial staff are seldom documented in the case of early newspapers, and few could afford to employ salaried correspondents. But we know that Verhoeven's pamphlets included texts translated from at least seven different languages, so this would have required skilled writers. Sometimes original copy was provided by local figures of some literary distinction. Scholars who have reconstructed the life and work of the Catholic polemicist Richard Verstegan discern his hand in a number of texts; indeed, for a large part of the decade that Verhoeven was fully occupied as a news publisher Verstegan gave much of his time to journalism in the Catholic cause.²⁵ For much of 1625, a year of significant Spanish victories, Verstegan seems to have been a full-time collaborator in Verhoeven's shop, contributing among other pieces a celebration of the great victory at Breda and a three page editorial on the great signs of God's favour received by the Spanish monarchy.²⁶ We also know that Verhoeven was in regular contact with leading members of the Antwerp church hierarchy: not least because he submitted each issue for approval to the censor.

Some of his best material was adapted from the German polemical broadsheets that hounded the unfortunate Frederick of the Palatinate after his

25 Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the world. Richard Verstegan and the international culture of Catholic Reformation* (Louvain, Louvain University Press, 2004).

26 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the world*, pp. 147–148.

precipitate fall from grace.²⁷ One, very cruel and very funny, purports to be the narrative of a postilion, following the fugitive ex-king around Europe. This is accompanied in the original with a brilliant woodcut showing the postilion's winding road. Verhoeven's pamphlet often used a simpler but still arresting image of Frederick, showing the prince mounted on horseback with a crown toppling from his head. Like the very best political cartoons, this did not need to be complex or intricate to make its point with brutal clarity. Verhoeven's awareness of the popularity of the German news broadsheets points to his own continued involvement in this trade. This is how Verhoeven had cut his teeth in the news business, and he continued to publish illustrated broadsheets even when largely pre-occupied with his news serials. We know this partly because a very small number survive, but also because he advertised them in his news pamphlets. Thus at the end of issue number 99 of 1621, *New tidings from the camp of the king of France before St Jean d'Angely*, Verhoeven coyly reminded the reader:

I could not forebear to bring to your attention the illustrations of the siege of St Jean d'Angely, with the representation of the fortress of La Rochelle, showing where the rebel Huguenots have strengthened the fortifications. These may be purchased from Abraham Verhoeven on the Lombardvest in the Golden Sun.²⁸

Interestingly, not all of the illustrated broadsheets advertised in this way can be identified from surviving copies: this is another way in which our understanding of the publisher's work can be enriched by the incorporation of such lost items. Verhoeven, being the publisher as well as the printer of his newspaper, was one of the first to employ this sort of advertising to cross-promote his various ventures. In due course the insertion of paid advertisements would come to underpin the finances of many serials, but in this, as in so much else, Verhoeven was precocious.²⁹

27 The German illustrated broadsheets of this era are fully documented in Roger Paas, *The German political broadsheet, 1600–1700* (12 vols., Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz, 1985–2014).

28 Iulius 1621. 99. *Nieuwe tijdinghe wt des conincx va[n] Vrancrijckx legher, voor S. Ian d'Angely, met t'ghene daer ghepasseert is*. The advertisement, from page 7, is quoted BB V 515.

29 On advertising in early newspapers see Folke Dahl, 'Amsterdam, earliest newspaper centre of western Europe. New contributions to the history of the first Dutch and French corantos', *Het Boek*, XXV/3 (1939), pp. 161–198; R.M. Wiles, *Freshest advices. Early provincial newspapers in England* (Columbus, OH, Ohio State University Press, 1965).

In 1629 Verhoeven suspended his pamphlet series, re-opening a few months later with a more conventional weekly newspaper. What had precipitated this change is not certain. Perhaps demand was falling as the tide of war began to turn against the Catholic forces; the Antwerp authorities were becoming a little tetchy, a sure sign of the perennial political tendency to blame the messenger. In February of that year the Council of Brabant instructed Verhoeven to desist from his “daily” publication “of various gazettes or news reports most incorrect and without prior proper visitation”, a charge as unfair as it was inaccurate, given Verhoeven’s almost slavish adherence to the Catholic and Imperial cause.³⁰ Perhaps Verhoeven himself was worn down by the relentless schedule of publication. Most early modern serials that relied on a single charismatic voice for success were of short duration, and by lasting a decade Verhoeven had outlived most such enterprises. It is certainly the case that the issues of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* were beginning to look a little tired. The woodcuts that Verhoeven had prepared for the first issues had now been used and re-used many times over. And Verhoeven was running short of money. In 1623 he had written to the Antwerp Council to remind them that payment for their block order of 24 copies was seriously in arrears: he asked for 145 gulden to clear the debt, but received only 50. In truth, Verhoeven never seems to have been a particularly effective business manager. In 1625 he came into property from his parents, but in the same year his wife fell ill, and her prolonged period of invalidity, before she died in 1632, was a further drain on his resources. Two sons, unable to set themselves up in business without help from their father, left Antwerp to try their fortunes elsewhere.

So in 1629 Verhoeven announced the end of his *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. A month or so later he launched the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghe*. This was the response of a scared or defeated man. After the innovation, variety and energy of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, this new enterprise was merely a pallid imitation of the Amsterdam papers, a single folio sheet folded once to make four pages with the sequence of sober news reports so familiar from the Amsterdam papers. But if Verhoeven thought this reversion to the norm would rescue his fortunes, he was sadly misguided. The *Wekelijcke Tijdinghe* lasted less than two years, its successor the two-page *Courante* only another two.³¹ In 1634 Verhoeven sold his business,

30 Quoted Paul Arblaster, ‘Policy and publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1585–1690’, in Brendan Dooley & Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The politics of information in early modern Europe* (London, Routledge, 2001), p. 185.

31 The sole surviving copies of the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghe* are included in the Brussels Royal Library’s run of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. This has also photocopies of the stray surviving copies of the *Courante*, the originals of which are in the wonderful newspaper collection

and the paper, to his second son Isaac. A hurried remarriage after the death of Susanna brought a limited respite from financial woes, but the last years of his life were miserable indeed: forced to live in rented accommodation, eking out a living as a day labourer in his son's workshop. This was not a unique experience for a seventeenth-century newsman. Nathaniel Butter, the most famous of the early English newspaper men, died in similarly reduced circumstances. The key to success was to diversify when the news business was at its zenith, as did Butter's shrewder partner Nicolas Bourne and the two rival Amsterdam newspapermen, Jan van Hilten and Broer Jansz.³² But Verhoeven was a true specialist: his nearly 1500 known publications contain only a handful that could not be described as news, and in some years nothing survives but the news periodicals.³³

For news publication this hyper-specialism was a new phenomenon of the newspaper age. In the sixteenth century most publishers printed news pamphlets as part of a broader portfolio of publications. But the shift to regular serial publication introduced new business complexities, particularly the management of a subscription list. Getting subscribers to pay their bills was a perennial difficulty. It was also the case that readers had to be taught a new way of looking at news. That news should come in regular weekly digests was by no means an obvious proposition and many would think, quite reasonably, that their requirement for printed news could easily be met by buying an occasional pamphlet when something occurred that piqued their interest. The newspapers, to some extent, got the worst of both worlds. They were introducing a far wider clientele to the concept of regular digests of news, but they could charge only a fraction of the cost of the manuscript news services. These would cost as much as ten pounds per annum for a weekly newsletter, and a newsman would need only a dozen or so customers for the enterprise to be viable. The newspapers, selling at two pence an issue, needed to shift several hundred copies to break even, which was a very different matter. In the next 50 years advertising would underpin these shaky economics, but not for the first generation, who trusted to the power of the news itself.

of the Royal Library Stockholm. For a listing of surviving and inferred issues, see Brabant, *Verhoeven*, pp. 405–418, 435–441.

32 R. Harms, *De uitvinding van de publieke opinie. Pamfletten als massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht, Utrecht University, 2010), pp. 85–86, 90–92.

33 The attribution of two pamphlets from 1634 to Verhoeven led me to the University Library Louvain; on examination, however, they turned out to have nothing in common with Verhoeven's work except that they were bound with a number of his news pamphlets from a decade before. The attribution can therefore probably be discounted.

Verhoeven's vision, of a serial publication that combined the business model of a newspaper with the familiar excitement and style of news pamphlets, was an interesting attempt to square this circle, and he sustained it for a decade. But it was not widely imitated. As the newspaper spread beyond Germany and Holland, it was the dispassionate, desiccated style of the Dutch and German newspapers that proved most influential. Opinion was banished to other forms of publication, the partisan serials of the British Civil Wars, the *Mazarinades* in France, Defoe's *New Review*.³⁴ It would be two centuries before the mixture of news, comment and blatant partisanship that characterised Verhoeven's work would make the leap from occasional pamphlets to the newspapers. Verhoeven's cheerful, indecorous partisanship found no echoes in the contemporary newspaper press. They preferred the sober, clinical tradition of the manuscript *avvisi*. But in the longer-term, Verhoeven's mixture of news, commentary and advocacy would be deeply influential in the evolution of news reporting: whether for good or ill, remains very much a matter of opinion.

This brief re-examination of the life of one great, but ultimately unrewarded innovator teaches us several important lessons. One, I think, is that book historians ultimately need to combine three separate resources in order to illuminate their subject fully: analytical bibliography to establish corpus and context; physical examination of the copies; and archival work. But for the archival materials happily discovered in the Antwerp archive we might assume that Verhoeven's venture was extremely successful. In technical terms this was certainly the case: but he still died poor. This raises one other point. The history of news is often written as a history of newspapers. Yet, as we see, most early newspapers failed. It would take the best part of 200 years to embed them in the reading practice of those seeking to follow the news. There were many reasons why newspapers did not work, and now we are moving towards a post-print age, in which the newspaper no longer reigns supreme, it is perhaps easier to appreciate this than in the period when the first histories of news were compiled. The new circumstances of our own age perhaps helps us to appreciate why our ancestors also valued a sophisticated multi-media world of news: one in which newspapers were only a small, and for many years a rather unsatisfactory part.

34 Pettegree, *Invention of news*, Chapters 9–11.

The Changing Landscape of the Competitive Nuremberg Print Trade: The Rise and Fall of Paulus Fürst (1608–1666)

John Roger Paas

In the first two centuries following Gutenberg's invention of printing with movable type, the printing trade was frequently in a state of flux as printers worked to overcome technological challenges and at the same time to build a market for their products. Initially, they were intent on copying the style of manuscripts, but they rapidly became more confident in their work and aware of the innovative possibilities unique to printing. The result is that it was not long before they began to introduce new basic elements of layout, which distinguished their products from handwritten works and thereby helped them achieve the full potential offered by typography. A more gradual yet just as fundamental change occurred in the organisation of the printing trade itself, so that over time the specific responsibilities of printers and publishers diverged, with the concomitant emergence of new industries, such as type casting. Throughout this evolutionary process the one constant was fierce competition, and whoever could not adapt to new circumstances or was unable to accurately gauge the nature of the market failed to succeed. This was especially true for those publishers involved in the production of popular prints, a clear example of which can be seen in the career of Paulus Fürst (1608–1666), the most well-known German broadsheet publisher of the seventeenth century. The way in which he established himself as a successful publisher and responded throughout his career to market forces helps to shed light on the specific challenges facing publishers of popular prints and more generally on common competitive practices and strategies in the publishing trade in the early modern period.

The seventeenth century was a time of far-reaching market developments that had a profound impact on publishers in German-speaking lands.¹ The events of the Thirty Years War, which dominated the greater part of the first half of the century, disrupted normal publishing activities, and many printers and publishers intent on carrying on business in unsettled circumstances

¹ For the most complete study of this period, see Horst Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (2 vols., Frankfurt, Insel, 1993).

sought to guarantee a reasonable livelihood by placing an emphasis on short, occasional works, many of them political in nature: pamphlets, news sheets and broadsheets. Although such works served to keep the public abreast of current events, they did not satisfy the desire for more general and more substantive works. By the middle of the century, however, a cultural flowering was occurring in many places in the empire – most notably in Nuremberg – and the new and more affluent generation of readers and consumers to emerge had broad interests and the expectation of a wider range of printed products from which to choose.

One of the most important changes in book publishing, one which brought certain financial challenges along with it for publishers, was the demand for printed books with visual imagery. As the prominent Nuremberg printer Wolfgang Endter the Elder noted objectively in 1646: “At this time hardly any book can be sold without an engraved title page which gives an indication of the contents not only with words but also with an image”.² Publishers felt compelled to respond to readers’ expectations, and the growing trend among some toward illustrating “theological as well as historical and political books with unnecessary engravings” caused Endter’s descendants two decades later to complain in writing to the emperor that their very livelihood was being threatened by those art dealers who indiscriminately issued all of their books with illustrations.³

It was during this period of transition in the publishing trade that Paulus Fürst rose to prominence as an art dealer (*Kunsthändler*), that is, a publisher of prints. Fürst was a native of Nuremberg, the son of a fustian weaver.⁴ There was

2 Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (Nuremberg, Wolfgang Endter, 1646), vol. 6, preface, §10, A_v^r. An in-depth study of German title pages at this time is Jutta Breyll, *Pictura loquens, poesis tacens. Studien zu Titelbildern und Rahmenkompositionen der erzählenden Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts von Sidneys “Arcadia” bis Ziglers “Banise”*, eds. Hans Geulen et al. (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz in Commission, 2006).

3 Friedrich Oldenbourg, *Die Endter. Eine Nürnberger Buchhändlerfamilie (1590–1740)* (Munich/Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1911), p. 101.

4 The most comprehensive study of Fürst and his firm remains Theodor Hampe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buch- und Kunsthandels in Nürnberg. II. Paulus Fürst und sein Kunstverlag* (Nuremberg, Akzidenz-Druckerei Sebald, 1915), which appeared originally in *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (1914–15), pp. 3–127; and ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buch- und Kunsthandels in Nürnberg. III. Ergänzungen und Nachträge zu der Abhandlung “Paulus Fürst und sein Kunstverlag”’, *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (1920–21), pp. 137–170. Hampe’s study draws on an earlier article: Johannes Bolte, ‘Bilderbogen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, 16: Der Kunsthändler Paul Fürst in Nürnberg’, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 20 (1910), pp. 195–220. For the most recent and accurate biographical

nothing in his humble background to foretell his later work as a broadsheet publisher of note, but thanks to a fortuitous confluence of circumstances, he became the leading German broadsheet publisher around the middle of the seventeenth century and one who set standards which only few could emulate.

Fürst appears to have begun his career working for Balthasar Caymox (1561–1635), a well-established figure in the publishing trade who had fled religious persecution in the duchy of Brabant and settled in Nuremberg in 1590, where he enjoyed success primarily as a print dealer.⁵ Although he published broadsheets (Fig. 2.1), the mainstay of his publishing business was the sale of devotional prints and allegorical prints, many of them copies after prints by Dutch artists and publishers such as Hendrik Goltzius (Fig. 2.2), Marten de Vos (Fig. 2.8), Adriaen Collaert, and members of the Wierix family. Upon Caymox's



FIGURE 2.1
Five Spiritual Meditations
NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM,
GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM: HB
24912/1336A

details of Fürst's life, see Manfred Grieb (ed.), *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon* (Munich, K.G. Saur, 2007), vol. 1, p. 436. Based on archival evidence, Grieb corrects the long-held belief that Fürst was a Meistersinger.

- 5 Although Caymox supplemented his income by selling small wares (*Kurzwaren*), as was common for print dealers at the time, he was affluent enough to purchase Wenzel Jamnitzer's old residence for 2,000 florins in 1620. See *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon*, p. 220.



FIGURE 2.2

The Four Seasons: Spring

WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART

COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF

WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 230, 70

death in 1635, Fürst continued to work at the firm, and then in the spring of 1637, shortly before his 29th birthday, he married Susanna Helena Snellinck – Caymox’s granddaughter and heir – and, as a consequence, gained control of the firm outright. He was now officially registered in the city as an art dealer, and the first dated sheets with his name appeared in that same year.

The initial years for any print dealer presented challenges as he learned the cost-effective management of the firm and gained a firsthand understanding of the workings of the competitive market, and Fürst’s experience was certainly no different. By 1637, however, he already had several years of experience in the trade, and his early sheets help to paint a picture of an entrepreneur who was cautious, yet at the same time willing to go in new directions. For example, because Caymox’s name retained some drawing power, one finds in imprints on broadsheets from 1640 (Figs. 2.3 & 2.4) specific mention of Fürst as Caymox’s heir: “Zu finden in Nürnberg bey Paulus Fürst/Balthasar Caymox Sel. Erben” (For purchase in Nuremberg at the shop of Paulus Fürst, Balthasar Caymox’s heir). In addition, to build on Caymox’s success, Fürst continued the practice of frequently issuing devotional prints, many of which bear a very close resemblance to his predecessor’s prints (Fig. 2.5). Although a Protestant working in a staunchly Protestant city, Fürst was astute enough to recognise the large market for popular prints aimed at a specifically Catholic clientele in southern



FIGURE 2.3
Unequal Love
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 250, 298



FIGURE 2.4
Five Spiritual Mediations
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE
OF WALDBURG-WOLFEGG:
VOL. 219. 395



FIGURE 2.6

Saint Catharine

WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
 COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
 WALDBURG-WOLFEGG:
 VOL. 176, 185



FIGURE 2.7

*Blessed Virgin Mary with Jesus
 and John the Baptist*

WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
 COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
 WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 221, 272



FIGURE 2.8 *Saint Gregory the Great*
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 129, 98



FIGURE 2.9 *Saint Gregory the Great*
NUREMBERG, LIBRARY, GERMANIC NATIONAL
MUSEUM: STN 238, 254

FIGURE 2.10 *The Twelve Months: March, April and May*

WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 35, 77

While pursuing a conservative path with his products, Fürst was not averse to publishing some prints which required a larger investment and which were therefore inherently more risky. One of the very earliest of these sheets, which appeared shortly after Fürst took over legal control of the Caymox firm, was a broadsheet to commemorate the archduke Ferdinand's election as emperor on 15 February 1637 (Fig. 2.11). It is an oversized sheet with a text in five columns and an illustration with 126 miniature portraits of the entire line of emperors from Julius Caesar to Ferdinand III.⁸ Requiring as it did a considerable monetary outlay for paper, for compositors and pressmen, and for the printmaker, the production of this broadsheet was an ambitious undertaking for a new publisher. As a type of self-serving advertisement, the engraved title emphasises how the portraits were carefully drawn from reliable sources, and mention is made of Fürst as the sole publisher. It is as though he intended with the publication of this sheet to make a bold statement about himself as a publisher of first-rate prints. This sheet also offers a clear indication of the direction in

8 This broadsheet was subsequently updated and reprinted to commemorate the election of the archduke Leopold as emperor in 1658 (Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum: HB 7/1333).

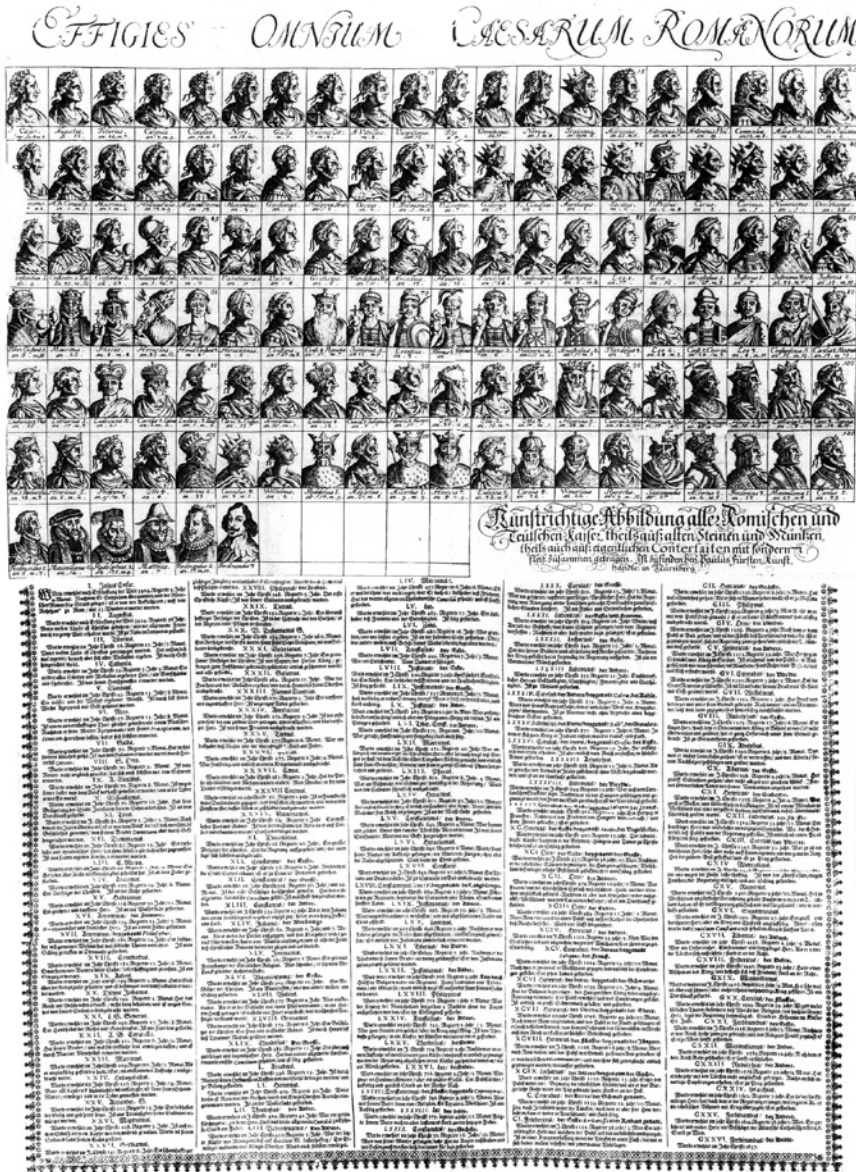


FIGURE 2.11 *Roman Emperors from Julius Caesar to Ferdinand III*
BERLIN, MANUSCRIPT ROOM, PRUSSIAN STATE LIBRARY: YA 7550 GR

which Fürst wanted to go as a broadsheet publisher, for it reveals early characteristics that were to become hallmarks of his best sheets: a clear tripartite construction with a prominent border, a substantive, well-written text either in prose or verse and an illustration of quality specifically commissioned for the sheet (Figs. 2.12–2.15). The imprint on these sheets routinely states that they can be purchased in Nuremberg from the art dealer Paulus Fürst: “Zu finden in Nürnberg/bey Paulus Fürst Kunsthändler/allda etc.”

Despite personal ambition and a penchant for quality, Fürst might have enjoyed only modest success had he not had the good fortune of having his firm located in Nuremberg, the so-called “Queen of the Free Imperial Cities”. The city had a long tradition as an important publishing centre for books, prints and maps, and in addition it was home to a wealthy community of patri-cians and merchants, whose patronage helped the arts to flourish there. Yet much the same could be said about other important free imperial cities: for example, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, and Nuremberg’s main competitor in south-ern Germany, Augsburg. What distinguished Nuremberg from its peers at exactly the time when Fürst was building his reputation as a publisher of prints was the presence of a literary community of very able and active poets. Owing to the deeply ingrained popular poetic tradition of Hans Sachs and the Meistersinger, Nuremberg had lagged behind other German cities and regions



FIGURE 2.12
The New German Michel
BAMBERG, PRINT ROOM, STATE
LIBRARY: VI.G.158



FIGURE 2.15
*Christian Reflection on the Transience
 of Worldly Goods*
 WOLFEFF, PRINT ROOM, ART
 COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE
 OF WALDBURG-WOLFEFF;
 VOL. 250, 15

in accepting new literary forms earlier in the century, a situation which changed dramatically in 1644 with the founding there of a language society known as the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden* (Flower Society on the Pegnitz River). At the same time that first-rate poets such as Johann Klaj (1616–1656) and Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681) were anxious for work and for recognition, Fürst, who was focused on expanding his firm, was in search of talented poets to compose the texts for his broadsheets. It was thus natural for these men to collaborate, and the result was in many cases the publication of broadsheets of the highest quality (Figs. 2.16 & 2.17).⁹ Nevertheless, Fürst was a prudent

9 For a list of Klaj's broadsheets for Fürst, see Johann Klaj, *Friedensdichtungen und kleinere poetische Schriften*, ed. Conrad Wiedemann (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968), pp. 31*–33*; and John Roger Paas, 'Ergänzungen zu Wiedemanns Verzeichnis der Einblattdrucke von Johann Klaj', *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*, 8 (1981), pp. 190–191. For Birken's collaboration with Fürst, see John Roger Paas, 'Sigmund von Birken's anonyme Flugblattgedichte im Kunstverlag des Paul Fürst', *Philobiblon*, 34 (1990), pp. 321–339; Wolfgang Harms, 'Anonyme Texte bekannter Autoren auf illustrierten Flugblättern des 17. Jahrhunderts. Zu Beispielen von Logau, Birken und Harsdörffer', *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*, 12 (1985), pp. 49–58; and also Harms, 'Anonyme Flugblätter im Umkreis Harsdörffers', in Italo Michele Battafarano (ed.), *Georg Philipp Harsdörffer. Ein deutscher Dichter und europäischer Gelehrter* (Bern/New York, Peter Lang, 1991), pp. 235–241.

entrepreneur who gauged the market carefully. Because of the high cost of paper and the ever-present possibility of pirated editions, which would adversely affect sales, he sometimes had two or three small editions printed rather than run the risk of having one larger one remain largely unsold.¹⁰ In some cases the later edition might have a new text, as in the case of *Neue Bawren-Klag Vber die vnbarmhertzigen Bawren-Reuter dieser Zeit* (A new Peasants' Complaint about the merciless Peasant-riders at this Time).¹¹

Fürst's collaboration with the poets in Nuremberg was given an unexpected and significant boost in 1649, when at the conclusion of the negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia the plenipotentiaries at Osnabrück and Münster adjourned to Nuremberg to work out the difficult details of demobilisation. For two years Nuremberg stood at the centre of European politics, during which time there was ample opportunity for the poets there to demonstrate their literary skills in pamphlets, speeches, plays and broadsheets.¹² Fürst took full advantage of this fortuitous situation and outdid competitors such as Jeremias Dümmler by issuing the majority of the broadsheets celebrating the major events in the city.¹³

Fürst's success was partially due to his being the right person in the right place at the right time, and by the early 1650s he was at the peak of his business success and a respected member of the town council. He employed the leading printmakers in Nuremberg – e.g., Lukas Schnitzer, Peter Troschel, Andreas Khol, Johann Friedrich Fleischberger and Mathias van Somer – and for special projects he at times also commissioned artists outside of the city, such as Abraham Aubry in Frankfurt am Main. Fürst offered a wide range of prints for sale, including portraits (Fig. 2.18), devotional prints (Fig. 2.19), prints after noted artists like Titian (Fig. 2.20), prints about Nuremberg and Nuremberg life (Fig. 2.21), games (Fig. 2.22), views of European cities from Stockholm to Venice and London to Constantinople (Fig. 2.23) and numerous series – e.g., the Four Seasons (Fig. 2.24), the Five Senses (Fig. 2.25), the Seven Liberal Arts (Fig. 2.26), the Four Continents (Fig. 2.27), etc. He also published several illustrated books, but it was his publication of broadsheets with often moral-satirical themes

10 See, for example, Paas, *The German political broadsheet*, vol. 7, P-2034 through P-2036 as well as P-2101 and P-2102.

11 Paas, *The German political broadsheet*, vol. 7, P-2136 and P-2137.

12 See Hartmut Laufhütte, 'The peace celebrations of 1650 in Nuremberg', in Klaus Bussmann & Heinz Schilling (eds.), *1648. War and peace in Europe* (Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998), essay vol. 2, pp. 347–357.

13 Paas, *The German political broadsheet*, vol. 7, P-2269 through P-2273, P-2277 and P-2293.



FIGURE 2.18
Georg Calixtus (1586–1656)
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 121, 260

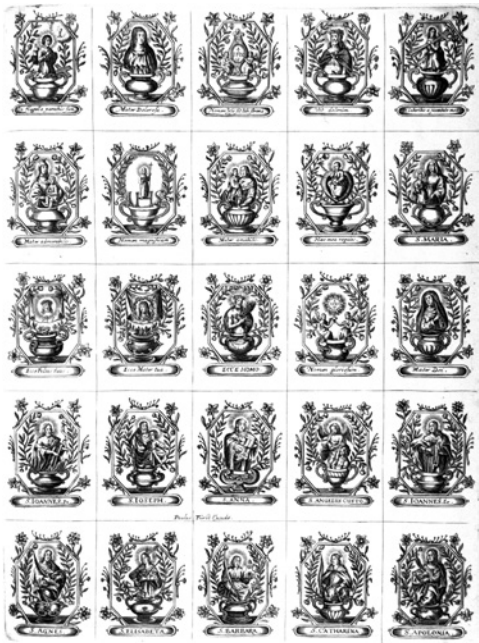


FIGURE 2.19
Sheet of devotional Images
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 221, 605



FIGURE 2.20
Vanity of an old Man seeking young Love
NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM,
GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM:
HB 25079/1294



FIGURE 2.21
A Nuremberg Peasant
NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM,
GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM:
HB 25332/1209

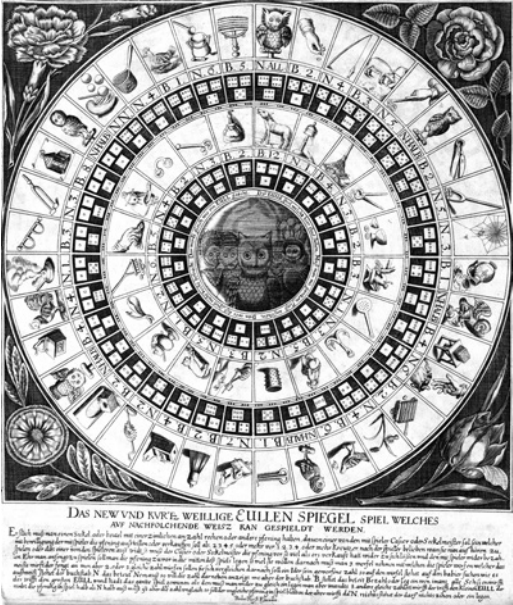


FIGURE 2.22
An Owl Game
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM,
ART COLLECTION OF THE
HOUSE OF WALDBURG-
WOLFEGG: VOL. 92, 304



FIGURE 2.23 *View of the Port of Amsterdam*
NUREMBERG, LIBRARY, GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM: STN 238, 395



FIGURE 2.24 *The Four Seasons: Spring*
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 230, 90



FIGURE 2.25
The Five Senses: Sight
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION
OF THE HOUSE OF WALDBURG-WOLFEGG:
VOL. 233, 178



FIGURE 2.26
*The Seven Liberal Arts: Mercury,
patron god*
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 227, 253



FIGURE 2.27 *The Four Continents: Europe*
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 129, 246

that brought him the most recognition as a *Kunsthändler*. Some of these sheets are so well done that they have taken on an almost iconic character: *Geld/regirt die Welt* (Money rules the World) (Fig. 2.28); *Tabacologia. Das ist/Lobspruch deß edlen/(vnd dieser Zeit bey den Teutschen) hochberühmten Krauts Petum oder Taback/von dessen Ankunfft/vnd gar löblichen/gebrauch bey manchen teutsche Helden/sampt desselben waaren Krafft vnd Wirkung* (Tabacologia, That is, Praise of the Noble [and at this time among the Germans] Illustrious Herb Petum or Tobacco, and about its Origin and laudable Use by many famous Germans, as well as about its true Power and Effect) (Fig. 2.29);¹⁴ *Memento Mori* (Fig. 2.30); *Der Jungfrauen Narrenseil* (The Fool's Ladder to Maidens) (Fig. 2.31); *PassionZeiger* (Passion-pointer) (Fig. 2.32); *Allamodischer Niemandt* (Fashionable Nobody) (Fig. 2.33); *Der Doctor Schnabel von Rom* (The Plague Doctor of Rome) (Fig. 2.34).¹⁵

Fürst's prints were selling so well that he had a presence at several international fairs throughout the year: Frankfurt, Leipzig, Vienna, Linz and Graz.



FIGURE 2.28
Money rules the World
NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM, GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM: HB
15063/1278

- 14 A variant edition of 1652 with the same illustration is reproduced in Wolfgang Harms (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985), vol. 1, no. I, 84.
- 15 Additional broadsheets published by Fürst and similar to these are reproduced in *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter*, vol. 1.



FIGURE 2.29

Tabacologia

NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM,
GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM:
HB 25276/1386



FIGURE 2.30

Memento Mori

NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM,
GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM:
HB 25292/1294



FIGURE 2.31
The Fool's Ladder to Maidens
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE
OF WALDBURG-WOLFEGG:
VOL. 243, 176

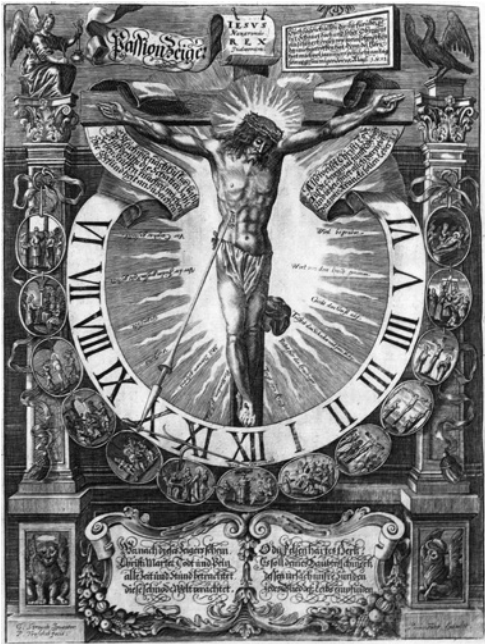


FIGURE 2.32
Passion-pointer
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART
COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 211, 287



FIGURE 2.33 *Fashionable Nobody*
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 234, 241



FIGURE 2.34
The Plague Doctor of Rome
WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 117, 174

Ironically, however, some of the very same advantages which had contributed to Fürst's success now began to work against him. The celebrations in Nuremberg, which had encouraged a cultural boom there and improved the chances for print sales, attracted artists from other parts of the empire eager to share in the prosperity, and this meant increased competition for Fürst. One of those attracted to the city was the printmaker Jacob von Sandrart (1630–1708), who had been working in nearby Regensburg but recognised that the opportunities for commissions were far more plentiful in Nuremberg; in 1656 he settled in the city permanently and quickly came to dominate the market there for engraved portraiture.¹⁶ In addition to being one of the leading printmakers of his generation, Sandrart was also an ambitious print publisher who soon captured some of Fürst's market and in the process lured the influential poet Sigmund von Birken away from him.¹⁷

Sandrart's presence in Nuremberg had an adverse effect on Fürst's fortunes, but a far more serious challenge developed when the ambitious Johann Hoffmann (1629–1698) (Fig. 2.35), a native of Frankenberg in Saxony, settled in Nuremberg around the same time as Sandrart and set about establishing himself exclusively as a book and print publisher.¹⁸ Although Hoffmann, like Fürst, appears to have relied at the outset on the sale of devotional prints for a modest but steady income, he soon began to compete aggressively with Fürst for control of the Nuremberg print market. Archival evidence indicates that Hoffmann was an especially hard-nosed businessman who often alienated those working for him and who also frequently tested the limits of the law.¹⁹ To avoid publishing restrictions enforced by the Nuremberg town council, he

16 Sandrart's oeuvre is documented in John Roger Paas (ed.), *Hollstein's German engravings, etchings and woodcuts 1400–1700* (Roosendaal, Koninklijke Van Poll, 1994), vols. 38 and 39.

17 In this context, see John Roger Paas, 'Jacob von Sandrarts gedruckte Reiterbildnisse mit Versen des Sigmund von Birken', *Philobiblon*, 38 (1994), pp. 16–32; Paas, 'Unknown verses by Sigmund von Birken on maps by Jacob von Sandrart', *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*, 21 (1994), pp. 7–9; and Paas, 'Zusammenarbeit in der Herstellung illustrierter Werken im Barockzeitalter: Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681) und Nürnberger Künstler und Verleger', *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*, 24 (1997), pp. 217–239.

18 The most comprehensive study of Hoffmann and his production of broadsheets remains Gertie Deneke, 'Johann Hoffmann. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Buch- und Kunsthandels in Nürnberg', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 1 (1957), pp. 337–364. This appeared originally as a doctoral dissertation in 1924.

19 See Michael Diefenbacher & Wiltrud Fischer-Pache (eds.), *Das Nürnberger Buchgewerbe. Buch- und Zeitungsdrucker, Verleger und Druckhändler vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Nuremberg, Selbstverlag des Stadtarchivs Nürnberg, 2003), pp. 378–394. See also Deneke, 'Johann Hoffmann', pp. 340–341.



FIGURE 2.35

*Johann Hoffmann (1629–1698)*NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM, GERMANIC
NATIONAL MUSEUM: MP 11093

sometimes had books printed elsewhere, as for example, in nearby Sulzbach. It is not known if Hoffmann paid artists more than Fürst, but what is evident is that some printmakers who had worked for Fürst began to work also for Hoffmann.

The result of this increased competition was that Fürst's business began to suffer, a clear illustration of which occurred at the time of the election of the archduke Leopold as Holy Roman Emperor in 1658 and his subsequent visit to Nuremberg. These momentous events offered Fürst a chance to issue topical broadsheets for an eager market, and although in quality his sheets bear a close resemblance to some of his earlier ones, they actually underscore the financial constraints Fürst was facing. He issued, for example, a sheet with a large triumphal arch constructed to welcome the emperor, but the plate is a restrike of a plate originally engraved by Peter Isselburg (1580?–1630) for the visit of Emperor Matthias in 1612.²⁰ Only after the sale of this sheet proved successful did Fürst venture to have a new plate engraved by Peter Troschel.²¹ Fürst needed to be cautious, for his sheets were no longer so different visually from those of Johann Hoffmann and others. Indeed, at the time of the

20 Reproduced in Paas, *The German political broadsheet*, vol. 7, P-2470.

21 Reproduced in Paas, *The German political broadsheet*, vol. 7, P-2471.

emperor's visit, Hoffmann petitioned the town council for permission to issue a copy of Fürst's sheet with the triumphal arch. Although his request was rejected, he was allowed to publish a sheet about the emperor's ceremonial entrance into Nuremberg.²² The result was a very ambitious, oversized sheet (Fig. 2.36), especially when compared to the modest one issued on the same occasion by Fürst (Fig. 2.37). Fürst had clearly lost his edge in the broadsheet market in Nuremberg, but also more generally.

With the increased competition and the resulting drop in market share, a shortage of funds became a major concern for Fürst, and in 1660 he became embroiled in a financial dispute with his brother-in-law. The outcome was disastrous for Fürst: he lost the case and was subsequently briefly imprisoned.²³ Around the same time, the broadsheets themselves began to reveal a distinct decline in quality. Those that had been the happy combination of appealing layout, artistic poetry and interesting illustration decreased in number, and in their place Fürst began to favour a newer, simpler format of broadsheets:

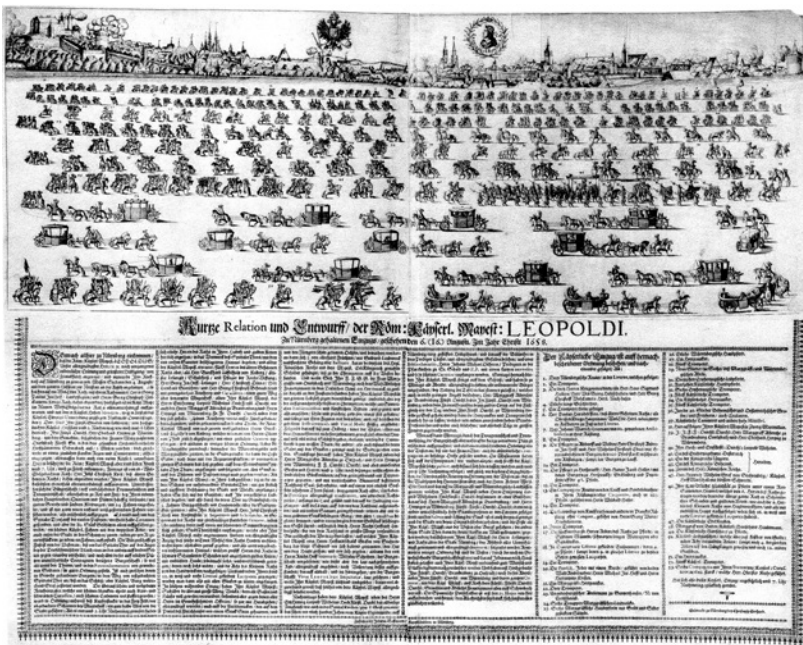


FIGURE 2.36 *Entrance of Emperor Leopold into Nuremberg*
NUREMBERG, PRINT ROOM, GERMANIC NATIONAL MUSEUM: MS 277

22 Deneke, 'Johann Hoffmann', p. 338.

23 See Hampe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buch- und Kunsthandels*, p. 61.

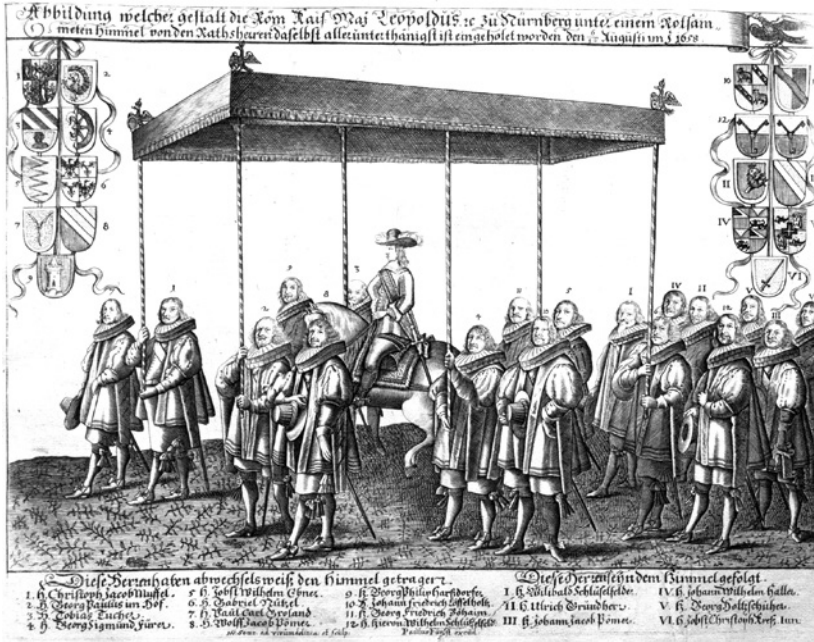


FIGURE 2.37 *Entrance of Emperor Leopold into Nuremberg*

WOLFEGG, PRINT ROOM, ART COLLECTION OF THE HOUSE OF
WALDBURG-WOLFEGG: VOL. 94, 105

engraved equestrian portraits with a couple of engraved lines stating the sitter's title, sometimes with the addition of a few lines of verse.²⁴ Hoffmann produced the same type of sheet²⁵ as well as others with more substantial texts. In general, the quality of Hoffmann's sheets was never quite a match for that of Fürst's best sheets, but by the mid-1660s Fürst was having great difficulty competing with Hoffmann, and one has to wonder if his suicide on 10 September 1666 was not a direct consequence of his failing business. Although his heirs continued the firm after his death, it was never able to regain solid financial footing. In 1681 the firm had debts of almost 17,000 florins, and despite continuing in existence until 1702, it never again published anything of significance.

24 Several examples are reproduced in Paas, *The German political broadsheet*, vol. 7, e.g., P-2674, P-2705, P-2706, P-2718, P-2719, P-2740, P-2745, P-2768 and P-2771.

25 Several examples are reproduced in Paas, *The German political broadsheet*, vol. 7, e.g., P-2608, P-2615, P-2624, P-2683, P-2686, P-2710, P-2713, P-2720, P-2724, P-2736 and P-2742.

During the last third of his publishing career Paulus Fürst faced a formidable competitor in Johann Hoffmann, but Hoffmann was himself not immune to competition from others. He had to contend with major Nuremberg book publishers, such as the Endters and the Felseckers, and with other broadsheet publishers, such as Georg Scheurer and Leonhard Loschge. In comparing the careers of Fürst and Hoffmann, one needs to ask what it was that made Hoffmann able to prevail in the competitive print trade in Nuremberg, whereas Fürst enjoyed initial success but ultimately failed. If we consider for a moment Hoffmann as a person and as an entrepreneur, there are several different but closely related reasons why he was able to remain successful. Firstly, Hoffmann had clear goals and was by nature a ruthless businessman capable of alienating both his competitors and his associates to achieve his ends. Secondly, because Hoffmann viewed his products dispassionately as commodities to be produced and sold, he approached his trade as a rational entrepreneur rather than as someone particularly interested in the aesthetic quality of his products. His books were often printed on inferior paper and reveal shoddy workmanship, and his broadsheets for the most part lack the quality of the best of Fürst's, yet by keeping his overhead costs to a minimum Hoffmann was able to maintain a healthy profit margin and to prosper in a very competitive trade. Thirdly, as the competition between the two men became intense, Hoffmann offered his customers a somewhat broader range of products than did Fürst. That is, whereas Fürst's broadsheet output became increasingly restricted to equestrian portraits, Hoffmann produced similar broadsheets as well as others with greater news content. Even more importantly, Hoffmann diversified his business. Although he started out as a print dealer, he must have recognised early on that the long-term opportunities for someone focusing heavily on broadsheet production were limited. Aware of a changing market where broadsheets were becoming less relevant for the dissemination of topical news, Hoffmann soon shifted his primary focus to the publication of books. Fürst had also been known as a book publisher as well as a print dealer, but his rather limited output of books pales in comparison to Hoffmann's more than 300 titles, several of which are multivolume and/or highly illustrated.²⁶ Whereas Fürst at his height had been a broadsheet publisher who epitomised the old school of art dealers, the market evolved during his lifetime, and Hoffmann came to represent a new breed of entrepreneur, who understood and adapted to changes in the increasingly modern commercial world.

26 The majority of these books are listed in Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis* (1850–77; rpt. Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1963).

Networks of Printers and the Dissemination of News: The Case of Milan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Massimo Petta

Preliminary Notes

From the early years of the printed era, accounts of events, i.e. news, issued forth from printing presses. One of the earliest Milanese printed texts is *Lamento di Negroponte*, a poem in *ottava rima* which narrates the fall of the Venetian stronghold (12 July 1470). It was probably printed in 1471 and reprinted in 1472.¹

The scholarly field of the history of news and its dissemination is an immense one. Consequently this contribution will focus on a specific format of news, the so-called *avviso a stampa*, and its production in Milan. The essay will focus in particular on the activities of the Malatestas, a family firm which dominated the Milanese news market in the seventeenth century. This contribution aims to elucidate how the distribution of *avvisi* was shaped both by the manner in which the firm's network operated and by the mode of concentrated production that was encouraged by the Governors of Milan.

The identification of patterns of circulation and, correspondingly, the configuration of the Malatestas's network will lead us beyond Milanese borders. Indeed it will allow us to shed light on the active role that printers and book-sellers played in creating regular connections and in shaping the medium.

With regard to the production of news in Milan, it will be shown that the tendency to concentrate such activities in the hands of one favoured firm was the result of both the will of the Governors and the initiative of the Malatesta family. The latter enterprise, pursued as a part of a long-term family strategy, is

1 *Lamento di Negroponte*: "O tu dolce Signor che ci hai creati", [Milan, Pamfilo Castaldi, 1471], in-4°, ISTC il00029450. It was probably printed by Antonio Zarotto for Pamfilo Castaldi between 15 March 1471 and 19 February 1472. See Arnaldo Ganda, 'Pamfilo Castaldi e le origini della tipografia milanese (1471–1472). Nuovi documenti', *La Bibliofilia*, 83 (1981), pp. 1–24 and Margaret Meserve, 'News from Negroponte. Politics, popular opinion and information exchange in the first decade of the Italian press', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59/2 (2006), pp. 440–480.

summarised by the Malatestas's claim that they were acting as 'Royal Chamber Printers' in the production of their *avvisi*. This was in fact a semi-official title which only identified the possession of a privilege to produce edicts.

As Ugo Rozzo pointed out some years ago, one of the main difficulties in dealing with non-book materials, of which news is a part, is their ephemeral nature. As a consequence, such materials have only partially survived and we have no certainty about the rate.² Moreover, they are not accurately recognised by bibliographical tools. Due to its particular nature, news does not fit perfectly in bibliographical criteria.³ Since this is an enormous topic, I will restrict myself to one example that shows that the difference between 'title', 'place' and 'publisher' is not always distinct. On the title page of the *avviso* of 1598 the following is written: "[...] *La copia di detta Lettera, è venuta con il presente Ordinario di Vienna, delli 5 di Decembre 1598. Pubblicata da Girolamo Accolti*. In Milano, Per Pandolfo Malatesta".⁴ Edit16 (the Italian census of sixteenth century editions) records "Milan" as place of publication and "Pandolfo Malatesta" as publisher. This approach in fact leads to the loss of information about the original text contained in the full title which is abbreviated in the catalogue records, i.e. that the original text was a letter from Vienna and that it was first printed in Rome by Accolti. In the case of news, this information about the 'path' of the printed text is of particular importance.

Avvisi a stampa: Physical Features

The *avviso a stampa* was a non-periodical news pamphlet, produced and released cheaply and quickly. It consisted in most cases of half or one sheet of print and printers adapted the size of the typeface according to the length of texts in order to make them fit within the space available. In Milan, until the third quarter of the sixteenth century, printers used to release sheets to be folded two or three times (four to eight pages in quarto or 16 pages in octavo). Later, especially in the seventeenth century, the most frequently used format was eight pages in quarto. Less common was the use of octavo or folio. Also, apart from some cases in which the lack of space did not allow it, *avvisi* usually had a title page, which identified the main facts narrated in the text and which

2 Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata. I fogli volanti a stampa nell'Italia dei secoli XV e XVI* (Udine, Forum, 2008).

3 On this topic see Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 29–36.

4 *Copia d'vna lettera scritta dal Signor Michele Vaiuoda*, Milan, Pandolfo Malatesta, 1598, [4] l. in-16°, CNCE 15148.

usually had a xylographic vignette (often with a coat of arms) and complete typographical notes (especially from the last quarter of the sixteenth century). Furthermore, it is unusual to find *avvisi* printed in more than one or two sheets. Compilers and publishers combined such brevity with the use of vernacular and plain language to make their texts accessible.

Nonetheless, it is possible to encounter 'news booklets' (usually consisting of 32 to 64 pages) which, in certain respects, are very similar to *avvisi*. This is the case with regard to accounts of celebrations where, in addition to a short *avviso* of the event, it is usual to find other larger sized editions. In these 'news booklets' the greater availability of space allowed the author to include a wider variety of elements, such as Latin inscriptions, which could render the text as a whole less accessible. Moreover, longer 'news booklets' were produced in response to important events that occasioned an abundance of other news-related publication (commentaries, treatises and even histories). This was the case, for example, with regard to the fortunes of Wallenstein. This topic led to the production of both *avvisi*, accessible to a broad readership, and longer texts that explored the matter in greater detail which were accessible to a more cultivated public.⁵

Finally, it is necessary to emphasise that the fact that *avvisi* were one-issue releases increased their accessibility. In contrast to the periodical press, which required knowledge of the previous issues in order to be understood, *avvisi* were immediately accessible to the casual reader, without prerequisites.

Textual Features

The designation *avviso a stampa* describes a format defined by clearly recognisable and standardised physical features and well-defined and distinctive textual characteristics. In other words, the *avviso* was a distinctive kind of text characterised by both a particular physical standard and a textual format.

The basic feature of *avvisi* is that they were written in the vernacular and characterised by the use of plain and clear prose. Another main feature of this kind of text is that it was based on clearly individuated sources, the origins of which were identified to the reader. The steps from the event to its printed account could vary within a limited range. The origin of the news was an eyewitness who wrote a report. In his text the eyewitness could incorporate other oral or written accounts, i.e. second-hand sources, but in general the facts

5 Filippo Ghisolfi released both an *avviso* (*Copia di lettera scritta da Viena Milan, Filippo Ghisolfi*, 1634, [4] l. in-folio) and a booklet (*Giovanni Francesco Loredano, Ribellione, e morte del Volestain*, Milan, Filippo Ghisolfi for Giovanni Battista Cerri, 1634, [52] l. in-8°).

recounted by such means related to 'collateral episodes' only. The reporter usually declared this fact, sometimes remarking on the reliability of his sources by identifying them, for example, as *literati*, clergymen or simply as 'important people'.

Moreover, the physical format of the *avviso* necessitated that the source printed was lengthy. Even if the printer could vary the type size and the margins, could add prefaces or leave blank pages, the text had to be markedly longer than the synthetic paragraph of a gazette. As a consequence, it had to be much more detailed.

The provision of detail in *avvisi* tended towards 'objective quantification'. Anything that belonged to the sphere of personal commentary or opinion was avoided or relegated to the 'borders of the text' (rhetorical openings, short parenthesis, closings etc.) and never constituted the 'core news'.⁶ In most cases the objective quantification is numerical. An *avviso* thus might provide a record of the number of the casualties of a natural disaster or the costs of resulting damage, the number of the troops engaged in a battle and so on. Time and date are also of great importance. Detailed reports provide the chronological coordinates of every event and the date of the compilation of the report is often specified. Another distinctive element is the use of names. The names of important people (those who, for example, took part in a ceremony) are mixed with the names of common people. This approach was clearly borrowed from the 'governmental reports' which indeed were often sources for *avvisi*. The naming of actors in this way is, of course, a distinctive feature of any report (and so of any *avviso*) both public and private.

Milanese *avvisi* in the Sixteenth Century

The age of incunabula in Milan lasted until the mid-1520s and ended with a severe crisis in the printing industry which was nearly annihilated. Its rebirth occurred through a renewal of the output which involved an increased focus on 'innovative' products like printed news which grew in number from the 1530s.

6 Massimo Petta, 'Wild nature and 'religious' reading of events. Natural disaster in Milanese printed reports (16th–17th Century)', in Bojan Borstner et al. (eds.), *Historicizing religion. Critical approaches to contemporary concerns* (Pisa, Plus-Pisa University Press, 2010), pp. 199–230.

During the sixteenth century the Milanese market for news grew slowly but surely. The early decades of printed news were characterised by a great variety of texts, formats and functions. For example, we find poems in *ottava rima* beside reports by eyewitnesses;⁷ booklets recounting curious events and ceremonies beside letters regarding discoveries; and accounts of real events beside fictional narratives presented as ‘trustworthy’ reports.⁸

Following the early publication endeavours of the Da Legnanos, Vincenzo Meda, Francesco Calvo and Giovanni Antonio Borgo,⁹ the Moscheni brothers (and later Francesco alone) were the first Milanese printers who regularly committed to the production of *avvisi*: between 1554 and 1564 they published at least 13 *avvisi*. An important turning point occurred with the conflict in the Mediterranean in the 1560s and 70s, particularly the Siege of Malta (1565) and the Ottoman-Venetian War (1570–1573). During these wars related events became the subject of fairly punctual ‘media coverage’. This regularity changed the character of news from that which related curious occasional episodes, the reliability of which was uncertain, into that which provided a prompt and trustworthy report of any important event. Punctuality and regularity became the distinctive features of the dissemination of news through print and *avvisi* were thus transformed from being occasional, curious printed materials into the punctual companion of any important event.

In the second half of the century the production of *avvisi* in Milan grew due to the fact that several printers carried the business forward. After the Moschenis, from the 1560s to the 80s, the Tinis, the Da Pontes and Giovanni Battista Cologno were most active. Then, in the 1590s, before the rise of the Malatestas, the Da Pontes became the dominant players in this field of production.

7 Between 1471 and 1566, 31 poems in *ottava rima* were published in Milan regarding war events, 27 were published in Bologna, five in Naples, 16 in Rome and 125 in Venice: *Guerre in ottava rima* (4 vols., Modena, Panini, 1988–1989).

8 *Copia de vna littera venuta nouamente dalla citta de Milano, doue narra di due valorosissime donzelle le quali si sono ridutte a combattere*, Milan, for Paride Mantovano, [1551?], [2] l. in-4°, CNCE 15171; *Il novo e compassionevole avvenimento*, Milan, for Giovanni Veneziano, 1563, 8 l. in 4°, CNCE 61021.

9 *Copia d'una lettera de re di Portogallo*, Milan, Pietro Martire Mantegazza & fratelli for Giovanni Giacomo Da Legnano & fratelli, [1505], [8] l. in-4°, CNCE 57792; *Lettera & auviso della morte dello illustrissimo & eccellentissimo signore Francesco Sforza*, [Milan?, Vincenzo Meda?, 1535], [4] l. in-4°, CNCE 24040; *Copia di una lettera di Napoli*, [Milan, Giovanni Antonio Borgo], 1538, [4] l. in-4°, CNCE 57994; *Il vero auiso del numero delle genti da piedi et da cauallo*, [Milan, Giovanni Battista Da Ponte, 1558], CNCE 51968; Bernardo Spina, *Copia di vna lettera del signor Bernardo Spina*, [Milan, Francesco Minizio Calvo 1544], [18] l. in-4°, ill., CNCE 49376.

The Rise of the Malatestas in the Seventeenth Century

Pandolfo and Marco Tullio Malatesta began their typographical activity in 1594. In the early years they concentrated exclusively on the production of cheap, short booklets with a large circulation. It is no surprise that Giulio Cesare Croce was their most printed author in those years. They soon became involved in printing for institutions, making an informal agreement with a branch of the Da Ponte family (the heirs of Paolo Gottardo, holders of the privilege for printing edicts).

Concerning the printing of news, although the Da Pontes produced *avvisi*, it was not a significant part of their large and important business due to the fact that the market for printed news in Milan was at that time a tiny and marginal niche. In contrast the Malatestas were upstart printers who specialised in cheap print. Given their experience in cheap print, they probably understood the full potential of *avvisi*, so they bet on this kind of production. As we will see in more detail below, once they established a link to the Governor and the Milanese institutions, they pursued the *de facto* Milanese monopoly of news by means of a dual strategy. On the one hand, they heavily produced *avvisi* in order to occupy and expand the growing niche. On the other hand, they took advantage of their special position as the 'Royal Chamber Printers'.

The 1598–99 Festivals

In 1598, the Malatestas were printing edicts for the Governor of Milan, on behalf of the "heirs of Paolo Gottardo da Ponte" who retained the privilege despite the fact that they had ceased their typographical activity (they had sold their equipment to the Malatestas). Moreover, a visit of Marianne of Austria to Milan was planned in 1598. This was a crucial event from several points of view. Marianne came from Austria in order to marry the heir to the throne of Spain (who in the meantime had become King Philip III). The marriage had to be celebrated in Ferrara simultaneously with the devolution of the Duchy to the pope. This fact altered the balance of power in Italy so it was very important for the Governor of Milan to go there with the princess-queen of Spain: the presence of the plenipotentiary of the Catholic King, together with the queen, was a clear political assertion.¹⁰

10 On the role of Milan of as the "key of Italy" and the "heart of the Monarquía" see: Pablo Fernández Albaladejo, 'De "llave de Italia" a "corazón de la monarquía". Milán y la monarquía católica en el reinado de Felipe III', in *Fragmentos de Monarquía* (Madrid, Alianza, 1992), pp. 185–237 and Massimo Carlo Giannini & Gianvittorio Signorotto (eds.), *Lo Stato di Milano nel XVII secolo. Memoriali e relazioni* (Rome, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, 2006), pp. VII–LXXXII.

Moreover, in Ferrara Governor Velasco would have met archbishop Federico Borromeo who would have entered Milan to take possession of his chair after the wedding. It is not mere detail that Federico was the cousin of Carlo Borromeo who had had fractious relationships with previous Governors since his solemn entry to Milan in 1565.

For those reasons Governor Velasco carefully prepared sumptuous celebrations in Milan in order to reassert and increase the prestige of the monarchy and, at the same time, his personal reputation. Alongside a multitude of festive events and architecture we find significant 'media coverage' of these celebrations. The Malatestas published several *avvisi* to follow the trips of the queen, of Velasco, of the pope and any related event. In the production of such coverage the Malatestas clearly overshadowed any competitors by publishing seven *avvisi*. In contrast the heirs of Pacifico Da Ponte (another branch of the family), holders of one of the most active printworks of the city, published just one *avviso* on the entry of the pope into Ferrara.

In addition to *avvisi*, the Malatestas also released several books concerning 'collateral events'. These included the drama to be performed in the court theatre,¹¹ an accurate description of the Milanese celebrations (100 pages) written in Spanish by one of the organisers,¹² sonnets for Philip II and so on. The years 1598–99 marked a peak in the Malatestas's production and their achievement in the Milanese printing press. As a matter of fact, during this period, the Malatestas published eight *avvisi* on other topics, concerning neither the trip of Velasco and the queen nor the death of the king. This 'brilliant debut' marked a decisive passage: from this moment onwards the Malatestas were transformed from being marginal printers of news and other matter in Milan into the main producers of *avvisi* in the city.

In 1603 they obtained a privilege (for printing edicts) and they started to use the 'Royal Chamber Printers' subscription without the 'collaboration' of the Da Pontes. The activities of the Malatestas in the service of the Governor worked to the mutual satisfaction of each party. For his part, Velasco was very pleased with the obsequious character of their publications (years later from Madrid he recommended the Malatestas to the new Governor) while the Malatestas, relying on the favour (and, at least in 1598–99, on the correspondence) of the Governor and his entourage, came to occupy a central place in the expanding

11 Giovanni Battista Visconti, *Arminia*, Milan, Pandolfo Malatesta for Pietro Martire Locarno, 1599, [66] l. in-4°, CNCE 35888.

12 Guido Mazenta, *Apercebimento hecho en la ciudad de Milan, para la entrada de la Reyna Donna Margarita de Austria*, Milan, Pandolfo Malatesta, 1599, [51] l. in-4°, which is the extended translation of Mazenta, *Apparato* (see note 30).

Milanese world of printed news. The Malatestas drew attention to the confidence that the Governor and the Milanese institutions had in them by subscribing their *avvisi* “by the Malatestas, Royal Chamber Printers” despite having neither privileges nor an appointment concerning the publication of news. As a matter of fact, they used this subscription only in their ‘institutional’ production (edicts, laws, acts etc.) while in their ‘private’ output they simply indicated that the work in question was printed “by the Malatestas”.

In spite of the fact that the Malatestas began to use the subscription ‘Royal Chamber Printers’ by borrowing it from Paolo Gottardo Da Ponte without appointment, this conduct worked to the mutual advantage of the printers and the Governor. Thanks to the ‘semi-official’ subscription, corroborated by the woodcut coats of arms used in a standardised title page layout, *avvisi* by the Malatestas acquired particular reliability in the eyes of the readers. For his part, the Governor took great advantage of the fact that a compliant printer was gaining an important role in the circulation of news, not only in Milan, but also on a wider geographical scale.

The Circulation of News: The Network Mode of Operation

From the earliest days printed news had to be published very quickly after the events it recorded since only ‘fresh’ news was saleable. In 1529 a privilege prohibited the reprint of an early *avviso* by Francesco Minizio Calvo for one year.¹³ Six years later the ‘obsolescence term’ had halved: in 1533, Giacomo Keymolen, a Flemish printer from Aalst active in Bologna, obtained a six-month privilege for his “libretto”.¹⁴ In any case it is very rare to find privileged *avvisi* since, as a matter of fact, a privilege was a legal institute intended to protect investments and *avvisi* required no initial expense. Although guild regulations were introduced offering some weak and often uncertain guarantees to protect

13 *Di Carolo Cesare imperator augusto la ammiranda et triumphal intrata in Bologna*, [1529], [8] l. in-4°. The colophon states: “Cautum est edicto. S.D.N. Clementis VII ac Caroli V Caesaris inuictiss. nequis alius intra annum labellum hunc imprimat”, l. [8]r. See T. Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento* (Rome, Istituto di studi romani, 1967), p. 39, n. 9.

14 At the bottom of title page: “Priuilegiato da Papa Clemente Massimo Pontifi. che per sei mesi nessuno stampi il presente libretto, ouer el uendi sotto la pena d’escommunione, e con la perdita de dieci ducati”. *Lambasciaria di Dauid re dell’Etiopia al santissimo s.n. Clemente papa VII*, Bologna, Giacomo Keymolen, 1533, [16] l. in-4°, CNCE 1499 and CNCE 1500.

typographical products without the need for privileges, printers remained reliant on the speed of publication to safeguard their products effectively.¹⁵

The earliest evidence of the circulation of printed news that involved the Malatestas are the very *avvisi* printed in 1598. The first produced was probably a report of the entry of cardinal Aldobrandini into Ferrara (29 January 1598) which was “printed in Rome and reprinted in Milan”.¹⁶ At the end of the same year or in the first weeks of the following, the Malatestas republished another Roman *avviso* by Girolamo Accolti, declaring in the title page the full path of the news (i.e. a letter from Vienna published by Beccari then reprinted in Milan).¹⁷

Some years after these early attempts we find that the Malatesas had become integrated in an efficient network which connected Rome and Milan. This network incorporated the Malatestas (printers) in Milan, Marcantonio Benvenuto (bookseller) and other operators in Rome and surrounding towns. We can say with certainty that these links were active between 1612 and 1628.

The earliest trace of the operation of this network is the *Relatione delle reali nozze del re Matthias d'Vngaria*. It was first published in Rome by Marcantonio Benvenuto who entrusted the printing to Giacomo Mascardi. It was then reprinted in Bologna and finally in Milan.¹⁸

In 1616 the Malatestas printed the *Manifesto del christianissimo re di Francia* which was reprinted in Mantua.¹⁹ This booklet was also printed in Viterbo by the Discepolos for the Roman bookseller Benvenuto and was probably based on the Milanese edition.²⁰

15 In 1589 the “Universitas Bibliopolarum” (the guild of booksellers and printers) was established in Milan. Its statutes prevented reprints of a newly published book. See Anna Giulia Cavagna, ‘Statuti di librai e stampatori in Lombardia: 1589–1734’, in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche*, vol. 1, pp. 225–239. The statutes of the analogous guild in Venice (founded in 1548) were similar in this regard. See Angela Nuovo, Christian Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI* (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 2005), particularly vol. 1, Chapter 4.

16 The Roman *avviso* (*Relatione della solenne intrata fatta nella città di Ferrara*, Rome, Stamperia camerale, 1598, [2] l. in-4°) had two runs: CNCE 72216 and CNCE 33908; then it was reprinted in Milan “Stampata in Roma, et ristampata in Milano”, Milan, Pandolfo Malatesta, [1598], [4] l. in-4°, CNCE 60819.

17 *Copia d'vna lettera scritta dal Signor Michele Vaiuoda*, see note 4.

18 *Relatione delle reali nozze del re Matthias*, Rome, Giacomo Mascardi, for Marcantonio Benvenuto, 1612.

19 *Manifesto del christianissimo re di Francia*, Milano, Royal Chamber Printer (Malatestas) then Mantua, Aurelio and Lodovico Osanna, [1616], 8 p. in-4° reports: “Stampato in Milano, per il Stampator Regio Camerale”.

20 “In Viterbo, appresso Pietro & Agostino Discepoli, si vendono a Pasquino de Marc'Antonio Benuenuti, 1616”.

Marco Antonio Benvenuto, a Roman Counterpart

By focusing on the bookshop of Marco Antonio Benvenuto in Rome we will gain a deeper understanding of the matter. Although it only played a part in the exchange and circulation of *avvisi* it reveals the network's configuration clearly.

Benvenuto was a Roman bookseller who operated at 'Pasquino', the news market of Rome, sometimes collaborating with Lodovico Dozza (a native of Bologna).²¹ He specialised in news and all but a few of the publications he financed were news products (*avvisi* or similar). Only 33 of these are available today (Fig. 3.1). In order to produce *avvisi* Benvenuto relied on several printers in Rome and in towns in the north. If we organise his output by place of print, as shown in Figure 3.2, it becomes clear that he entrusted the printing of his news production to printers that often operated on a small, regional scale.

Lorenzo Grignani, Giacomo Mascardi and Andrea Fei were printers based in Rome. Pietro and Agostino Discepolo were usually active in Viterbo (90 kilometres north of Rome) and the printworks of Francesco Mercuri (a former apprentice of Discepolo) and Lorenzo Lupis were located in Ronciglione (70 km north). These towns together with Bracciano (40 km north west) were not 'ordinary' places but were sites of paper mills (Fig. 3.3). This fact favoured the establishment of printing presses (which produced mainly for the Roman market) despite the small size of the towns. Moreover, the Discepolos themselves were the owners of a paper mill.²²

The particular location of the places of production and the fact that the printers were entrusted to print only news coming from the north suggest that the printed sheets arrived directly to Viterbo or Bracciano or Ronciglione where they were soon reprinted and sent in thousands of copies to Rome in order to be sold. Moreover, the movements of the printers, their business and personal relationships and the strict connections with the bookseller, bring to light the manner in which the network operated.

As a matter of fact, in the case of the *avvisi* printed outside Rome, the text arrived from Milan four times out of 12 (33%), and in that of the *avvisi* printed in Rome, five times out of 22 (23%). Although such quantitative data should be treated with caution, it clearly reveals the tendency of *avvisi* from Milan to 'stop' before arriving in Rome. This evidence is corroborated by a reprint of a Milanese *avviso* produced by the Discepolos for the market of Rome without

21 Lodovico Dozza was a Roman bookseller interested in the publication of news and accounts of ceremonies. Like Benvenuto, he often entrusted the print to Discepoli, Fei, Grignani and Mascardi, and he sold three pamphlets sold jointly with Benvenuto ("si vendono a Pasquino da Marc'Antonio Benvenuto, & da Lodovico Dozza bolognese in Borgo Vecchio").

22 Lorenzo Baldacchini, 'Discepolo (Discepoli), Pietro' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, s.v.

FIGURE 3.1 *The paths of the printed news published by Benvenuto*

Date	Origin	Path (of the printed text)
1612	Vienna	Rome – Bologna – Milan
1615	Rome	Rome – Florence/Mondovì
1615–16	Burgos	Milan – Rome
1616	Paris	Milan– Viterbo – Rome [Milan – Mantova] [Milan – Macerata]
1616	Negroponte	Genoa ^(a) ~ Viterbo – Rome
1619	Tours	Milan – Viterbo – Rome
1619	Frankfurt	Milan – Viterbo – Rome
1619	Collio Valtrompia (Brescia)	Brescia – Padua – Ronciglione – Rome
1619	Turin	Venice – Viterbo – Rome
1619	East Mediterranean	Florence – Viterbo – Rome ^(b)
1621	Gibraltar	Seville ^(a) ~ Madrid – Rome
1622	London	[?] – Bracciano – Rome
1622	Guyenne	Rome
1622	Olonne-sur-Mer (Vendée)	Rome
1622	Royan	Bracciano – Rome
1622	Champagne	Bracciano – Rome
1622	Isfahan	Rome ^(c)
1624	Poland	Rome ^(b)
1624	Argenta (Ferrara)	Rome ^(b)
1624	Madrid	Rome
1625	Languedoc	Paris – Rome
1625	Breda	Milan – Rome [Milan – Parma] [Milan – Piacenza] [Milan – Naples]
1625	Breda	[Milan?] – Rome
1625	France	Paris – Rome
1625	Breda	Milan – Rome [Milan – Bologna]
1627	Holstein	Rome
1625	Malta	Rome – Milan
1627	Valtellina (Grisons)	Milan – Ronciglione – Rome
1627	Apulia	Rome
1628	La Rochelle	Milan – Rome
1628	Algeria	Rome
1628	Tunis	Messina – Rome

(a) Unspecified derivation

(b) Jointly with Lodovico Dozza

(c) Reprinted in 1623

FIGURE 3.2 *The output of Marco Antonio Benvenuto by place of print*

	Rome	Bracciano	Ronciglione	Viterbo
Ludovico Grignani	14		1 ^(b)	
Giacomo Mascardi	2			
Pietro and Agostino Discepolo	1 ^(a)			7
Andrea Fei	2	3		
Francesco Mercuri			1	
Total	21	3	2	7

(a) only Pietro
(b) with Lorenzo Lupis



FIGURE 3.3 *Benvenuto's news: sites of paper mills and printing cities near Rome*

the mediation of Roman operators (the Discepolos owned a printworks in Rome). It states in the title page “Si vendono a Pasquino”.²³ In other words, the

23 *Vera relatione del grandissimo terremoto e compassioneuole infortunio successo a di 4. di settembre 1618. alla infelice terra di Piur nel stato de' Grisoni*, Viterbo, Pietro and Agostino Discepoli, 1618, [4] l. in-8°, 1 plate.

Discepolos printed this *avviso* on their own which means that they were not merely printers on Benvenuto's behalf but rather active operators in the circulation of news.

If we consider the origin of the news contained in the *avvisi* by Benvenuto we notice that nine out of 23 (40%) of the news reports from the north arrive through Milan and in particular from the printing press of the Malatestas. The Malatestas's printworks can, therefore, be considered the 'northern gateway' of this network. Moreover, it is not irrelevant that of the six *avvisi* with news from France that do not mention any previous Milanese print, four were printed in 1622 and report the name of the translator: "Giovanni de Buonhomo" in three cases and Giovanni de Sir in one. This could 'disguise' the fact that somehow both French men merely occasionally provided news sources from France to Benvenuto.

The absence of printers from Venice in the network is remarkable since the city was by far the most important publishing centre in Italy. This highlights the specificity of the market for news in which the importance of circulation altered the normal structure of the publishing industry, generating particular 'geographies'.

Finally, if we look at the non-news output of these printers, another interesting point emerges. An important part of the production of each printer was that of cheap and large circulation prints whose best-known author is Giulio Cesare Croce. It appears that specialisation in this sector was somehow contiguous with specialisation in the production of *avvisi*. Although in a technical sense both kinds of products were very similar (i.e. short and cheap pamphlets) and suited to the capacities of small print-works, the production of *avvisi* required a continuous supply of sources which was far beyond the capabilities of the sole printer. For this purpose the network mode of operation was essential. While in the Roman 'node' it is possible to detect a tendency towards 'specialisation' among printers and sellers, in Milan the Malatestas succeeded in transcending the role of 'cheap printer' to gain a central position in the circulation of news, establishing direct connections to other operators in Italy and Europe.

The Landslide of Piuro

In the period in which this network was active a landslide buried the town of Piuro (4 September 1618), sweeping away the buildings and causing the death of the majority of its inhabitants. News of this tragic event was soon widespread across Europe. This unfortunate episode provides an opportunity to understand the operation of the network: we can observe the peculiar modalities of connections as well as the strategies used to adapt to local scenarios. Moreover, the abundance of documentation makes it possible to discern the modalities of the passage of the news between different formats.

Piuro is situated in Valchiavenna, an Italian-speaking valley subject in this period to the Grisons, very close to the border of the State of Milan. It was a relatively rich town from which reasonably well-qualified emigrants in the form of literate craftsmen migrated across Europe. As a consequence, news of the disaster spread almost everywhere from Edinburgh to Prague, from Paris to Cracow.²⁴

The first report of the disaster was written the following morning in German by Fortunat Sprecher, the Federal Commissioner of the Grisons. In the meantime other reports (*relazioni*) were written in Italian. As a consequence, news of the event ran in two directions, towards Chur and towards Milan, from where it was disseminated across Europe. This is underlined, for example, by the fact that the British editions (London and then Edinburgh) were released as “News from Millaine”.²⁵

Concerning the textual features of this news, it is noteworthy that the German report was written for governmental purposes and so evaluates damages and casualties in an objective way: governmental institutions obviously were not interested in Commissioner Sprecher’s comments but rather in damages and losses. Although they had no governmental motivation, Italian accounts were nonetheless as ‘objective’ as the German ones.²⁶ Concerning the circulation of the news, the Italian report of Joachimo Curtabate was printed only in German in *avviso* format (*Zeitung*) in Halle, Saxony (a full text version) and in Nuremberg (edited).

The earliest Italian *avviso* which has survived in its original form is the one printed by the Discepolos in Viterbo which was very probably a reprint of the lost Milanese one. The Malatestas *avviso* was printed soon and spread in two directions. Southbound it arrived in Viterbo where it was reprinted by the Discepolos for the Roman market (“Si vendono a Pasquino”). So, schematising, this *avviso* ran from Milan to Viterbo in a single copy and there it was reproduced in hundreds or thousands of copies. The bales of printed paper were then carried for 90 kilometres from Viterbo to Rome.

24 See Guido Scaramellini, Günther Kahl & Gian Primo Falappi (eds.), *La frana di Piuro del 1618. Storia e immagini di una rovina* (Piuro, Associazione italo-svizzera per gli scavi di Piuro, 1988), pp. 28–32 and Raul Merzario, *Il capitalismo nelle montagne. Strategie familiari nella prima fase di industrializzazione nel Comasco* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 1989).

25 *Newes from Italy. Or, A Prodigious and most lamentable Accident lately befallen London*, N. O[kes]., for Nathaniell Newbery and John Pyper, 1618, [9] l. in-4° (reprint: Edinburgh, Andro Hart, 1619), contains the translation of an *avviso* from Paris and “The former Relation more particularly set forth in an Auiso of the Lords of the States of Heluetia and the Grisons. Faithfully Translated according to the Copy printed at Millain. 1618”.

26 Petta, ‘Wild Nature’, p. 211.

The same *avviso* ran northbound from Milan in another modality. An entire load of Milanese *avvisi* printed by the Malatestas arrived in Augsburg. Sarah Mang translated it, bound the German text together with the Italian, and sold both as a whole. Although very rare, the existence of a bilingual *avviso* is very significant since it meant that there were enough Italian readers among Sarah Mang's customers to make it possible for the Malatestas to send their printed sheets to Germany. The movement of a considerable load of printed paper suggests a frequent interchange since it is unlikely that a mechanism would have existed to allow for a one-off transaction of this size as this would have taken too much time and such a payment would have been difficult to organise. In other words, it is likely that the Malatestas sent the bale of *avvisi* in fulfilment of a pact that related not just to a single release but to a more general and regular supply of news. This suggests the existence of a network mode of operation which ensured the economic compensation of the Malatestas whether directly or indirectly. Even if it was unusual to send Italian *avvisi* to Germany, on this occasion there was good reason since many of the potential readers of this text were the aforementioned literate emigrants from Piuro and other Italian Alpine towns, a circumstance of which the Malatestas were probably aware.

Alongside this extraordinary method of spreading news we also find the 'usual' means, i.e. the dispatch of a single copy for the purpose of reproduction. The Malatestas also sent a single copy of an illustrated print to Augsburg with the bale of *avvisi* (due to technical reasons copper engravings had low print runs). This was reproduced with a translation of the accompanying short text and sold in Augsburg.

It is remarkable that the picture was not the 'original' from Milan. It was in fact copied from Johann Hardmeyer's news publications which had been printed in Zurich in 1618 and dispersed across Europe, soon becoming very popular. In order to understand this we have to take a step backwards.

When the news of the disaster arrived in Swiss and southern German print-works it acquired a particular format according to the local customs. This was the illustrated broadsheet or *Flugblatt* which was composed of an illustration in the upper part and blackletter text in the lower. The picture was in some way related to the textual account but it usually did not describe the event accurately. In other words being 'evocative' rather than 'descriptive', it provided no information and its main role was to 'lighten' the whole print.

Flugblättern concerning the subject of Piuro were printed in 1618 in Strasbourg and in Augsburg (two editions). In Zurich in the same year Johann Hardmeyer updated the format by printing both an *avviso* (*Zeitung*) and a

broadsheet.²⁷ The picture was thus separated from the 'long text'. The result was an engraving of good quality with more space (the text below the picture was mainly legend) and its role went beyond that of merely lightening the text. In other words, free from the strict limits of the local customs which affected *Flugblättern*, this picture demonstrated its descriptive potential, thus becoming a news medium capable of large-scale dispersal.²⁸

Hardmeyer's engraving thus arrived in Milan where it was used as the model for Cesare Bassano's picture which was probably printed by the Malatestas. One copy of this Milanese work was sent to Augsburg together with the aforementioned bale of *avvisi* where an unknown local artist reproduced it. It is remarkable that the Malatestas did not send it to Viterbo where another, different picture was produced. This later fact makes apparent the 'asymmetrical' configuration of this network which was determined by the variable evaluations of the news-spreading-typographer of the opportunities of any local market.

The Malatestas's Dominion over the Milanese Printed News Market

In the years that followed the Malatestas consolidated their predominant position in the world of Milanese printed news. As we have already seen, since their 'debut' the confidence that the Governor had in the Malatestas was a strong point. The collocation of one of their print-works in the court was surely a positive element which granted them easier access to sources of news other than market channels. The result was that while the Malatestas regularly published *avvisi*, other printers had to make do with whatever could be compiled from the remaining, irregular sources of news.

Since their debut the Malatestas had to deal with the Da Pontes. On the one hand they took over Paolo Gottardo Da Ponte's printing press and collaborated with his heirs. On the other hand they had to deal with competition from the heirs of Pacifico Da Ponte who were holders of an important printworks in Milan, the Archiepiscopal Press. While Paolo Gottardo was active among

27 Gunther Kahl, 'Iconografia sull'antica Piuro', in Scaramellini, Kahl & Falappi (eds.), *La frana di Piuro*, pp. 49–86.

28 It is noteworthy that this picture became a model for the illustrations of the landslide of Piuro for many decades, influencing, indirectly, Mathaeus Merian's engraving in his *Theatrum Europaeum*. See Kahl, 'Iconografia'. This was also thanks to the use of a particular flip-over leaflet that made it very popular.

others in the field of *avvisi*, the production of Pacifico (and later his heirs) was clearly oriented towards devotional print. So, mirroring his usual output, his sporadic news production was based on 'Jesuit sources'. Indeed the majority of his news output consists of newsbooks with information from Japan. In 1585 he also released *avvisi* concerning Japanese topics.²⁹ In addition to such 'Jesuit information' he occasionally published *avvisi* on other topics, mainly concerning entries and celebrations.

In 1598–99, in conjunction with the Malatestas's peak, Pacifico's heirs released five *avvisi* and a booklet with the description of the entry of queen Margaret of Austria (which had a second run).³⁰ Moreover, while Pandolfo Malatesta was frequently publishing *avvisi* concerning the journey of Governor Velasco, the entries of the queen, her weddings and so on, Pacifico's heirs published an *avviso* on the entry of the pope in Ferrara (on that occasion the Malatestas replied with an *avviso* concerning the "journey of the host"). In the years that followed Pacifico's heirs kept on publishing news with particular attention to 'devotional topics'.³¹ However, their output was very sporadic and as such did not present a 'threat' to the Malatestas's dominion in Milan.

Decades later we find another 'struggle' which reveals the approach of the Malatestas towards competitors. In 1648 the Da Pontes published an *avviso* (a letter of a Jesuit from South America) concerning an earthquake and the Malatestas promptly replied with one from Tenerife also concerning an earthquake. As a consequence in 1649 the Da Pontes 'retreated' and moved to more familiar ground, publishing an *avviso* concerning ceremonies performed in Rome.

Meanwhile, the Malatestas had to face competition from another enterprising typographer, Filippo Ghisolfi. His activity began in 1631 after the plague which had struck Milan. The Malatestas were particularly badly hit by this epidemic which caused fatalities in the family and, as a consequence, difficulties in their production.

In 1631 Ghisolfi published a volume of letters (news, but not *avvisi*) from Japan, reprints of Roman editions, thus occupying the place of the Da Pontes.

29 On the martyrdom of five Jesuits in Japan (*Relatione della felice morte di cinque religiosi*, Milan, Pacifico Da Ponte, 1585, [8] l. in-8°, CNCE 59403) and on the arrival of Japanese ambassadors in Rome (*Avisi venuti nouamente da Roma*, Milan, Pacifico Da Ponte, [1585], [2] l. in-4°, CNCE 3596).

30 Guido Mazenta, *Apparato fatto dalla città di Milano per riceuere la serenissima regina d. Margarita d'Austria*, Milan, heirs of Pacifico Da Ponte, 1598, [18] l. in-4°, CNCE 24422.

31 Bartolomeo Bonfadino, *Narratione et origine come fu istituito il santo giubileo dell'anno santo*, Milan, heirs of Pacifico Da Ponte, 1600, [4] l. in-8°, CNCE 6956 (reprint of Roman edition).

In 1633 and 1634 he published two *avvisi* from Rome and Vienna. In 1635 we find a more complicated situation. Ottavio Beltrano in Naples published an *avviso* with news about Wallenstein explicitly mentioning the previous edition, “In Milano, Per Filippo Ghisolfi”.³² This *avviso* was drafted by Giovanni Orlandi, a “Roman merchant” (as reported in the typographical note of an *avviso* of 1 September 1630 this was also printed by Beltrano) who had moved to Naples. In the *avviso* about Wallenstein, Orlandi wrote an introduction in which he announced the imminent release of a longer text, translated from French, concerning the “revolutions of Germany”.

Even if unfortunately there is no trace of this edition we can suppose that it came from Milan on the basis of the fact that a 1635 Neapolitan *avviso* released by Egidio Longo and translated from French followed such a course.³³ Orlandi, on the other hand, used to publish the Malatestas's *avvisi* (using the imprint of Secondino Roncagliolo). Meanwhile, for his part, Ghisolfi also tried to exploit the topic as much as possible by proposing the reprint of a Venetian booklet about the fortunes of Wallenstein.³⁴ In 1635 Ghisolfi also published another volume of letters from Japan and two *avvisi* which were soon reprinted in Naples by Egidio Longo. The latter, in the same year, published four more *avvisi* from Milan which were reprints perhaps of Ghisolfi's and, at least in one case, of those of the Malatestas. Then, in 1636, after the release of an *avviso* from Flanders, Ghisolfi's production of *avvisi* suddenly ceased.

It seems that he tried to carve out a space in the Milanese printed news market, setting up a network mode of operation, even crossing the Malatestas, but he did not succeed. Between the lines we see that his competitors (the Malatestas), once they had reorganised their activity after their bereavements, were too strong. They published eight *avvisi* on the same topics, but in an unusual thicker format (with more detailed information). Moreover, they took advantage of their collaboration with the authorities. They published news on the treaty with the Grisons which was a ‘hot topic’, releasing an *avviso*³⁵ and a booklet³⁶ (reprinted) and thus diversifying their output. They

32 *Esattissima relatione della ribellione e morte del Volestain*, Naples, Ottavio Beltrano for Giovanni Orlandi, 1634, [10] l. in-4°.

33 *Auisi di diuerse parti mandati alla Francia da vn suo affetionato. Tradotti di francese in italiano*, Naples, Egidio Longo, 1635, [2] l. in-folio, states: “In Milano, & in Napoli”.

34 Loredano, *Ribellione e morte del Volestain*, see note 6.

35 *Ratificatione fatta dal serenissimo cardinale Infante di Spagna*, Milan, Giovanni Battista Malatesta, 1634, [4] l. in-folio.

36 *Lega rinouata tra la maesta del Re di Spagna, et li Cantoni cattolici Suizzeri*, Milan, Fratelli Malatesta, 1634, 14 l. in-folio; another run: Giovanni Battista Malatesta, 1634, 40 p. in-4°.

also published a lengthy *avvisi* from Nördlingen and Flanders³⁷ and an ordinary one from Valenza Po with news from France and Lorraine,³⁸ another peace treaty³⁹ and a Viennese booklet on a topic on which Ghisolfi had published: Wallenstein's fortunes.⁴⁰

The latter could not face such strong competition and gave up. However, he dipped his toe into the news world just two years later (1638) by publishing an account of the ceremonies that took place in Milan on the behalf of a bookseller. He then released a similar account (on his own) four years later. 14 years later in 1656 he published an *avviso* in Spanish, and finally, in 1661 he published an account of a Milanese ceremony dedicated to Milanese cardinals living in Rome (aiming perhaps at an additional outlet abroad). Meanwhile, the Malatestas continued to produce *avvisi* (six until 1642, including one in Spanish which was a reprint of the edition of Barcelona).

"Matters of State and War": The Privilege over News

In the 1630s the Malatestas consolidated their predominant position in the Milanese printed news world. As we have already seen, since their 'debut', the Governor's confidence in them was crucial, and the collocation of one of their printworks in the court was surely a positive feature which granted them easier access to sources for their news production. The result was that while the Malatestas could regularly publish *avvisi*, other printers were left with mere morsels of information to work with. Nevertheless, the Malatestas had no privilege guaranteeing a monopoly of the production of *avvisi* so they had to consolidate constantly their predominant position through market strategies as is clearly demonstrated by the manner in which they dealt with competition from Filippo Ghisolfi.

On 17 March 1637 Governor Leganés backed the *de facto* monopoly of the Malatestas by conferring on Giovanni Battista an unprecedented privilege over

37 *Relatione della vittoria hauuta dalli cattolici*, Milan, Giovanni Battista Malatesta, 1634, 16 p. in-4° and *Distinta, e vera relatione di quanto e successo al serenissimo cardinal Infante di Spagna*, Milan, Giovanni Battista Malatesta, 1635, 14 l. in-folio.

38 *Relatione veritiera di quanto e successo nell'assedio di Valenza del Po*, Milan, Giovanni Battista Malatesta, 1635, 4 p. in-folio.

39 *Pace tra la Sagra Maesta Cesarea, et il serenissimo Elettore di Sassonia*, Milan, Giovanni Battista Malatesta, 1635, 24 p. in-4° (translation of Viennese Latin edition).

40 *Vera, et real informatione dell'horrenda, et spauenteuole rebellione del gia Fridlando*, Milan, Giovanni Battista Malatesta, 1635, 64 p. in-4° (reprint of Viennese edition).

news production in Milan.⁴¹ This was the ultimate sanction and in continuity with the behaviour of his predecessors. It demonstrated not only great 'respect' for the Malatestas's work but also a consciousness that a collaboration was mutually convenient. Leganés knew that it was impossible to control the entire circulation of news. He could, however, greatly affect its circulation by exerting an influence on the Malatestas, i.e. the 'node of the network' that was most powerful and reliable. So once the Malatestas monopoly had been consolidated, the Governor further sanctioned it by granting an unprecedented privilege. This document sanctioned an existing situation of predominance, a position that the Malatestas held by virtue of the fact of having an efficient connection with sources of news which assured them a superior output.

A Panoply of News

In the years that followed the Malatestas expanded the range of their news business. Ensconced in their secure position, they explored an innovative field: that of printed gazettes.⁴²

Gazettes (up to then generally produced in manuscript form) were very different products from *avvisi a stampa* since they required a serial reading in order to be understood (while *avvisi* were normally one-issue complete texts, despite the existence of some occasional 'short-serial issues'). The manuscript medium made it possible to bypass strict censorship and thus allowed for an often uninhibited flow of information. Printed information on the other hand was easier to control.⁴³ Printed gazettes, which were until that point very sporadic in Italy, offered the authorities the opportunity to gain better control over the news. In this regard the gazette of Renaudot (started in 1631) was the model.⁴⁴ In the late 1630s the Malatestas began their invasion into the field of the gazette with their new product, the earliest surviving issue of which dates from 28 November 1640. The decision to pursue this new enterprise was no doubt taken on foot of the receipt of the award of the privilege of 1637 which openly refers to the governmental control over the press. This exclusive privilege provided protection to the Malatestas upon entering this new field of production in which they had no specific experience. The Malatestas only printed the

41 Archivio Storico Civico Milano, *Materie*, 894.

42 Pierangelo Bellettini, 'Le più antiche gazzette a stampa di Milano (1640) e di Bologna (1642)', *La Bibliofilia*, 100/2-3 (1998), pp. 465-494.

43 On this topic see Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi*, pp. 12-14 and Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, pp. 161-163.

44 Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, p. 82 and Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVIIème siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris, Champion, 2002).

gazette (without subscription) while the drafting was carried out by Filippo Perlasca. It is worth noting that the latter unsuccessfully requested a privilege for the gazette proposing the same reasons of “governmental control”.⁴⁵ This business appears to have been successful and finally, after many years, in 1672, Marco Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta produced the first subscribed issue.

Another symptom of the Malatestas's predominance was the scarcity of opportunities for other printers. This was the situation in the case of Carlo Antonio Malatesta who belonged to a cadet branch of the family and carried on a separate business. In 1659–60 he attempted to produce news but was limited by an extreme sparsity of available sources which did not provide enough detail to fill eight pages in quarto. This news concerned an earthquake in southern Italy but the information offered was so inadequate and lacking in detail that the result was a clumsy attempt by the printer to compensate for this deficiency. He produced an *avviso* of four pages instead of the usual eight with no declaration of the provenance of sources. There are many ‘rhetorical’ paragraphs in the text in which, on the one hand, he attempts to involve the reader emotionally (e.g. “if only you could have seen such a pitiful spectacle”) and, on the other hand, to provide some colour to the text with truculent and unsubstantiated details. Most of the space is dedicated to very vague ‘commentaries’ on the event which identified it as a divine punishment. In any event the printer did not succeed in disguising the lack of detail and the result is a poor quality *avviso*. He made a second attempt one year later after which he did not produce any more *avvisi*. The news market was not a place for such improvising operators since the readers of news were very conscious of the quality of the products.⁴⁶ The output of the Malatestas, on the other hand, met the demands of consumers of reliable news. This granted them a central role in the information world of Milan which lasted for many decades. For their part, the Governors favoured the Malatestas's leading role since it allowed them and the whole Milanese ruling class, whose prominence was granted by the Spanish Crown, to take advantage of a loyal and compliant producer of favourable news.

45 Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, pp. 162–163.

46 Petta, *Wild nature*, pp. 219–220.

New Books for a New Reading Public: Frankfurt “Melusine” Editions from the Press of Gülfferich, Han and Heirs*

Ursula Rautenberg

Frankfurt as a Publishing Centre in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the imperial city of Frankfurt am Main, which in the first century of printing had only been significant for the book trade inasmuch as books were among the goods that were traded at the Frankfurt fairs, rose to become a printing and publishing centre of the first degree. Christian Egenolff and Hermann Gülfferich belonged to the first generation of printer-publishers who initiated the upswing just prior to and around mid-century. In the following generation, Weigand Han and heirs, the Egenolff heirs and the workshop of Nikolaus Bassée and André Wechel were particularly important. In the last third of the century, Sigmund Feyerabend rose to international significance as a large-scale publisher.¹

Compared to the older printing centres of Basel, Cologne, Strasbourg, Augsburg and Nuremberg, it is striking how German-language editions constituted a large part of the titles produced in Frankfurt from the beginning. In this way, Frankfurt followed the example of Strasbourg and Augsburg, but established a specific profile for itself through a broad and diversified selection of German literature that reflected the interests of a reading public that had grown larger. The emphasis lay on titles that popularised developments in particular fields of knowledge and theology, and on edifying and entertaining material such as the prose novel whose roots reached back in part to the late Middle Ages. Egenolff's and Gülfferich's editions were particularly important

* Translation: Jonathan Green.

1 There is no recent comprehensive study of the book trade in Frankfurt. Cf. the short overview in Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte* (Frankfurt, Minjon, 1921), vol. 3, pp. 17–58; cf. Erhard Heinrich Georg Klöss, ‘Der Frankfurter Drucker-Verleger Weigand Han und seine Erben (1555–82)’, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 2 (1960), pp. 309–374: here p. 310f.

for the development of the 'Schwankbücher', collections of humorous tales, a new genre that became extremely popular in the sixteenth century.² Frankfurt's specialisation on 'popular' factual works, entertainment and books for daily use may have contributed substantially to the city's rapid establishment as an equal of the traditional printing centres. The publisher-printers addressed the needs of an urban, German-reading audience that increasingly included women and craftsmen in addition to citizens from the upper and middle classes. Tendencies that had already appeared in the book trade of the early sixteenth century became prominent: the regionalisation of trade and production along with simultaneous differentiation of material, and an incipient specialisation of the printer-publishers, who had to address a less homogeneous reading public. The publishing business of Hermann Gülfferich, his stepson Weigand Han and heirs in Frankfurt adapted its printed output to the interests of these readers with a heterogeneous range of products: while primarily theological works were produced during the early years under Gülfferich, the selection of works printed after 1549 and especially under Weigand Han became much more varied. The profile of the workshop, which would not change substantially during the firm's lifetime, comprised medical writings for a lay audience, novels and German books for the crafts and trades.³

Commercial success proved the soundness of this rigorous orientation towards the needs of the readers. There was a downside, however: only a few new works by contemporary authors that could have satisfied the demand for such reading matter were added to the standard titles. The result was intense competition as popular German literature was reprinted at an accelerated pace. Beginning with Egenolff, there were countless disputes and lawsuits because of prohibited reprinting. The Frankfurt printing statutes of 1588 attempted to impose a legal framework on the practice of reprinting, but they remained ineffective, as there was no means to implement them in practice.⁴ The Frankfurt printers found themselves on both sides of the issue: their works were reprinted, but they also reprinted the works of others.

2 Cf. Johannes Klaus Kipf, 'Auf dem Weg zum Schwankbuch. Die Bedeutung Frankfurter Drucker und Verleger für die Ausbildung eines Buchtyps im 16. Jahrhundert', in Robert Seidel & Regina Toepfer (eds.), *Frankfurt im Schnittpunkt der Diskurse* (Frankfurt, Klostermann, 2010), pp. 195–220.

3 A comprehensive analysis is found in Imke Schmidt, *Die Bücher aus der Offizin Gülfferich – Han Weigand Han-Erben* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1996): here pp. 45f.; 259f.

4 Cf. Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, p. 63.

Specialisation and Monopoly: Publication Programme and 'Volksbuch' Production of the Firm Gülfferich, Han and Heirs

The following chapter provides a brief overview of the development of the family firm over the space of three generations and the works it published.⁵ The substantive focus will be on the so-called 'Volksbücher'. The corpus contains adaptations of Italian, French, German and Latin originals in prose, edifying stories and exempla as well as collections of humorous stories and religious tracts in German.⁶ The Frankfurt printers selected 30 titles from the entire corpus of 68. The leading titles according to the numbers of editions are "Schimpf und Ernst" (12), "Magelone" (7), "Fortunatus" (7), "Pontus und Sidonia" (6), "Melusine" (6) and "Herzog Ernst" (5).⁷ These titles belong to a stable segment of the production of the workshop of Gülfferich, Han and heirs; one can speak of a Frankfurt monopoly that was maintained by the family firm for more than three decades.

In Frankfurt, besides the firm of Gülfferich, Han and heirs, only the Egenolff heirs and Nikolaus Bassée engaged with this market, and these other firms only do so with relatively few editions that furthermore do not address the entire

5 Still essential are the archival studies by Klöss, 'Weigand Han', which contrary to the title also treats Hermann Gülfferich, as well as the older article by Heinrich Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyrerabend, sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen* (Frankfurt, Völcker, 1881). Additions based on newer research are found in Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2007). Cf. also the brief overview in Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Die Drucküberlieferung des Melusine-Romans in Frankfurt am Main in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in Catherine Drittenbass & André Schnyder (eds.), *Eulenspiegel trifft Melusine. Der frühneuhochdeutsche Prosaroman im Licht neuer Forschungen und neuer Methodenparadigmen* (Amsterdam/New York, Rodopi, 2010), pp. 325–340: especially pp. 329–333.

6 The literary and linguistic definition of 'Volksbuch' remains vague. Without engaging in substantive discussion, I am referring here to the corpus of 68 titles that Bodo Gotzkowsky compiled in his bibliography: *"Volksbücher". Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher. Teil I. Drucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Baden-Baden, Koerner, 1991). These works also form the basis of the quantitative summary of this market segment in the following figures.

7 Schimpf und Ernst (12), Magelone (7), Fortunatus (7), Pontus und Sidonia (6), Melusine (6), Herzog Ernst (5), Die sieben weisen Meister (4), Ritter Galmy (4), Wendunmuth (3), Schildbürger (3), Wigalois (3), Pfarrer Kalenberg (2), Tristan und Isolde (2), Hug Schapler (2), Kaiser Barbarossa (2), Peter Leu (2), Valentin und Orsus (1), Florio und Biancheffora (1), Hürnen Seyfried (1), Brissonetus (1), Apollonius (1), Euriolus und Lucretia (1), Kaiser Octavian (1), Fierrabras (1), Der weiße Ritter (1), Loher und Maller (1), Zerstörung Trojas (1), Claus Narr (1), Alexander der Große (1), Till Eulenspiegel (1).

spectrum of the ‘Volksbücher’. The print history for these works in the entire German-language region presents a similar result: apart from the Frankfurt firms, there was only a sporadic printed tradition that is chronologically and geographically limited. Only Christian Müller the Younger in Strasbourg, Michael Manger in Augsburg and Nikolaus Nerlich in Leipzig published a number of editions worth mentioning. Editions by competitors in or outside of Frankfurt were mostly published after 1570, in the last decade of activity of the heirs of Weigand Han. During the period of the Frankfurt firm’s greatest success, Hermann Gülfferich and his stepson Weigand Han succeeded in attaining a monopoly position in the area of popular vernacular literature, especially the ‘Volksbücher’ that were still popular with a broad audience at the time. The print history of “Melusine” (Fig. 4.1), which was one of the frequently published prose novels, provides a clear example of this: besides the seven separate editions from the firm of Gülfferich, Han and heirs, there are only two editions from the Egenolff press (Christian Egenolff heirs), also in Frankfurt, as well as one edition each from Strasbourg (Christan Müller) and Augsburg (Michael Manger).

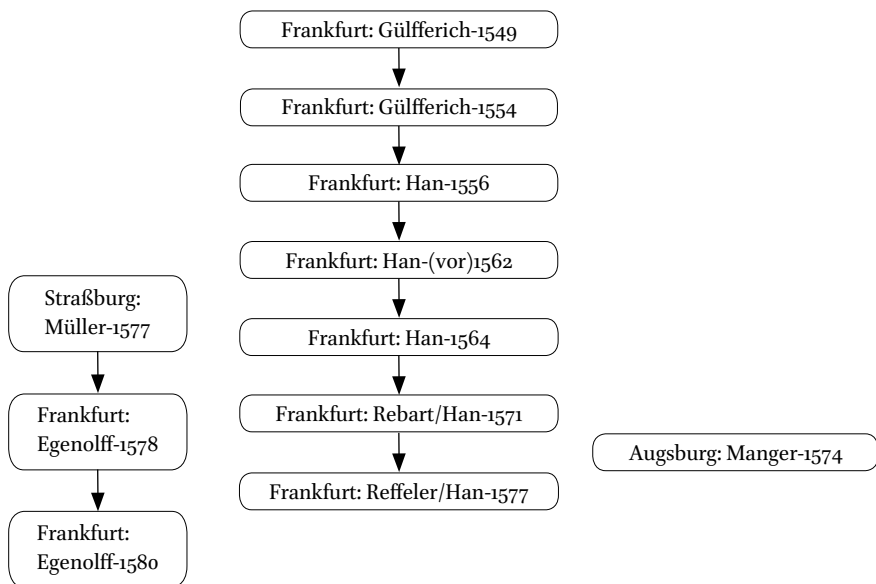


FIGURE 4.1 Printed editions of “Melusine” in the second half of the sixteenth century⁸

⁸ This overview is a part of the schematic representation of the entire printed tradition in Ursula Rautenberg, Hans-Jörg Künast, Mechthild Habermann & Heidrun Stein-Kecks (eds.), *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit. Die “Melusine” des Thüring von Ringoltingen* (Berlin/Boston, De Gruyter, 2012), p. 10.

The Press under the Direction of its Founder Hermann Gülfferich

Hermann Gülfferich, the founder of the publishing house, was active as a printer beginning in 1542 in Frankfurt. Originally from Mainz, he had learned the book binder's trade in Bonifatius Rudel's workshop, the "Haus zum Krug", in Frankfurt. After his marriage in 1540 to Margarethe, the widow of the book merchant and bookseller Georg Han, he is attested in 1542 as a printer-publisher and in 1544 bought the house where he had been apprenticed from the heirs of his former master, in which he established a printing workshop. Until his death in 1554, he directed a successful publishing firm specialising in popular scientific, entertaining, and devotional literature, with few works published in Latin (Fig. 4.2). He frequently identified his editions with the note that they were printed "in der Schnurgasse zum Krug". Hermann died in the middle of 1554. After his death, Margarethe led the workshop together with her son Weigand Han. Editions still appeared under Gülfferich's name in 1555, as well as a final edition in 1556 with the note that it was printed by "Hermann Gülfferich's remaining heirs".⁹

The overview of titles shows that the production of the 'Volksbuch' segment began in 1543 with Johann Pauli's 'Schwankbuch' "Schimpf und Ernst" and continued from 1548 onwards without interruption, in some cases with several titles each year, including the prose novels "Magelone", "Melusine" and "Fortunatus". Gülfferich printed "Melusine" in 1549 and 1554, while another

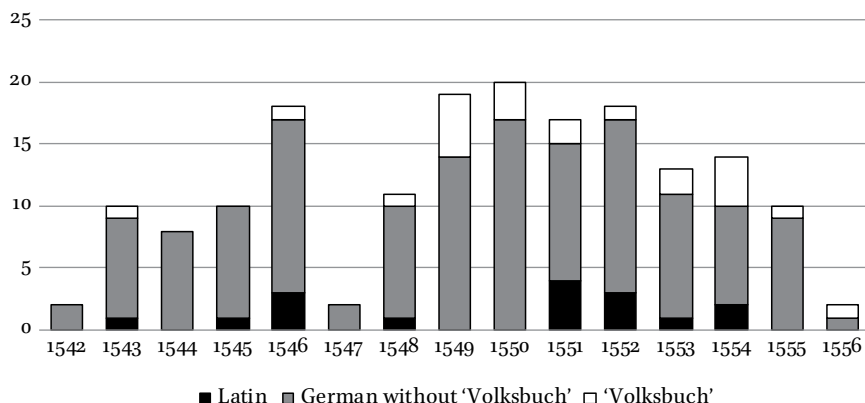


FIGURE 4.2 *Chronology of titles printed and published by Hermann Gülfferich until his death in 1554 and under his name until 1556*¹⁰ (analysis according to VD16)

9 Cf. Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend*, p. 6f. ("Pontus und Sidonia", VD16 ZV 21471).

10 This and the following figures are based on the title production as found in VD16, but excluding nine editions that VD16 drew from other bibliographies (for example Klöss)

edition of 1552 has perhaps been lost.¹¹ These titles were reprints of the Augsburg editions of Heinrich Steiner (1517–1548). Steiner, the most significant producer of high-quality illustrated and printed ‘Volksbuch’ editions in the 1530s and 1540s, retained these titles among his range of products until 1545. He declared bankruptcy in 1548. Gülfferich began printing these titles immediately after Steiner had ceased production and in this way laid the foundation for the ‘Volksbuch’ business. He took advantage of the opportune moment of what we would today call a low barrier to entry into the market and positioned himself as the market leader with a quick succession of first Frankfurt editions and a rapid series of further editions after that (Fig. 4.3).

The Publishing Firm under the Direction of Weigand Han

Weigand Han, the son of Margarethe Gülfferich from her marriage to the book merchant and book binder Georg Han, appears as the sole owner of the print shop and publication firm from 1556 onwards. Margarethe continued to participate financially. Like his stepfather, Weigand’s imprint frequently identified the firm’s location as “in der Schnurgasse zum Krug”. Until his death in autumn 1562, Weigand Han expanded the ‘Volksbuch’ segment with further titles and numerous reprints. In the years 1556 and 1558, ‘Volksbuch’ editions comprised

FIGURE 4.3 *From Steiner to Gülfferich, Han and heirs: Examples of transmission*

	Steiner (Augsburg)	Gülfferich, Han and heirs
“Magelone”	7 editions before 1545	7 editions from 1548–1565
“Melusine”	4 editions before 1547	7 editions from 1549–1577
“Fortunatus”	6 editions before 1544	11 editions from 1549–1570
Johann Pauli: “Schimpf und Ernst”	7 editions before 1546	12 editions from 1546–1575

without identifying a copy. For each of the four figures, the imprint was examined and based on this the editions were assigned to the corresponding directors of the firm. Undated editions were assigned to the publication date that has been deduced for them. Because of this, the possibility of modest distortions in the chronological summary should be taken into account. One can say in general that the majority of editions are signed and/or dated. The group ‘Volksbücher’ was constructed according to Gotzkowsky (cf. note 6). – I thank Jan Hillgartner, M.A., for gathering the data on my instruction and Nikolaus Weichselbaumer, M.A., for the creation of the figures.

11 Cf. note 24.

as much as half of the German titles. “Melusine” was published in 1556, followed by another edition during the transitional period of 1560/61 (Fig. 4.4). Under Weigand, the Frankfurt workshop became the leader in the German-language area for popular novels and entertaining literature.

At the spring fair in 1561 (on 14 April), Margarethe and Weigand Han sold the house “zum Krug” along with three presses, accessory equipment, wood blocks and just over 150 bales of printed paper (printed works of the publishing firm) to the printer Georg Rab from Pforzheim, presumably because of Weigand’s becoming ill. In 1560, Rab was still working as a commissioned printer for Weigand Han in Pforzheim.¹² After Rab had set up business in Frankfurt in April 1561, forty editions appeared with the imprint “bei Weigand Han und Georg Rab”, in which Rab is the printer and Han the publisher. When Rab took over the presses of Gülfferich and Han, a professionally trained printer and workshop director became responsible for production for the first time. Following this, the typographic design of the works improved.¹³ Weigand Han, Margarethe Gülfferich and Georg Rab established their future cooperation in a

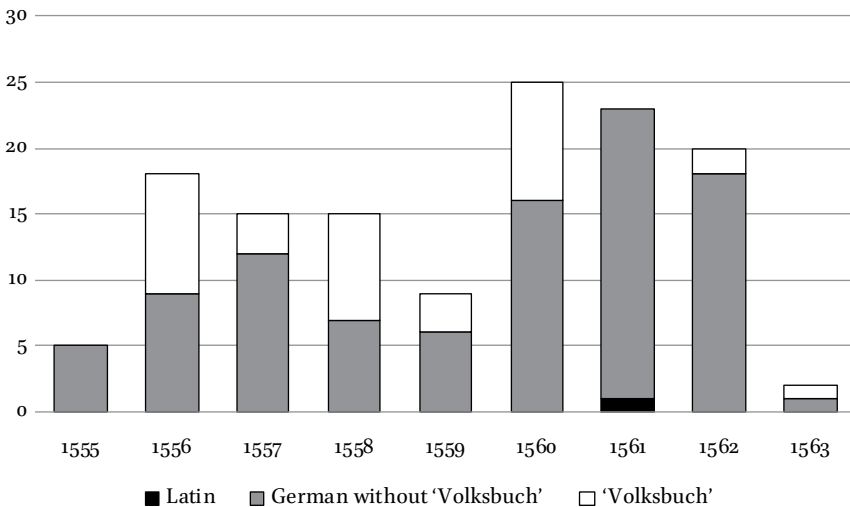


FIGURE 4.4 *Chronology of titles published by Weigand Han (1556–1563), or printed by Weigand Han and Georg Rab (1560–1563), Philipp Köpfel (1561) or David Zöpfel (1561)*¹⁴

12 Martin Luther’s “Hauspostille” (VD16 L 4860) bears the imprint “Gedruckt zuo Pfortzheym bey Georg Raben und Weygand Han”.

13 Cf. Klöss, ‘Weigand Han’, p. 344.

14 Including the “Heldenbuch” published by Sigmund Feyerabend and printed by Weigand Han in 1560 (VD16 H 1568).

partnership agreement before Weigand's death. The Hans were to provide the paper for Rab's printed editions from two paper mills in Sennheim and Alt-Thann in Alsace, which Hermann Gülfferich had already purchased in 1551/52 and which Weigand Han had directed from 1553–1555. The printed works were to belong to both parties equally. At the same time, Margarethe ensured for herself a lifetime right of prior purchase for the partnership's books. The intent was clearly to shift the business activity to publishing and book sales after the print workshop had been sold.

Data for the year 1560 suggest increased production, although 16 of the 25 editions recorded for that year are not dated but rather listed as "ca. 1560" in VD16. The following years of 1561/62 provide evidence in a corresponding level of production that commissions were tendered to external print shops or printers, mostly to Georg Rab. Five editions came from the presses of Philip Köpfel and an additional one from David Zöpfel (Fig. 4.4). This too supports the assumption that entrepreneurial initiative was shifted to publishing following the loss of Weigand in the print workshop.

The Third Generation: Weigand Han heirs, Kilian and Hartmann Han

Weigand Han's community of heirs included Margarethe Gülfferich, her daughter in law Katharina Han (Weigand's widow) and Katharina's under-age children, who were represented by the paper miller Kilian Ziegler and the printers Paul Reffeler and Peter Schmidt. The agreements of April 1561 between Weigand and Margarethe, on the one hand, and Rab on the other, were followed. From 1563 to 1568, the publishing house Han (including Margarethe, Katharina and Weigand's under-age children) and Rab did business under the name "Weigand Han's heirs". A distinct rise in title production can be observed for 1563 (the editions recorded for that year are dated), which was based among other things on the new business partnership between Sigmund Feyerabend, Georg Rab and Han's heirs, the so-called "Companei". From 1564 to 1568, the number of titles was approximately at the level of the years 1561/62. After 1569, the title production dropped sharply: Margarethe had died in 1568, and this year also marks the end of the "Companei". A few editions still appeared with the imprint of Georg Rab and Han heirs until 1575, and Rab died in 1580 (Fig. 4.5). From 1570 onwards, the publishing firm was transferred to Kilian Han, who published in part under the name of Han heirs and in part under his own name.

The publication programme of Han's heirs – with the exception of works published by the "Companei" – changed little. The market segment of the 'Volksbücher' between 1562 and 1569 was reduced compared to that of Weigand Han. Only a single "Melusine" edition in 1564 is known from this time period.

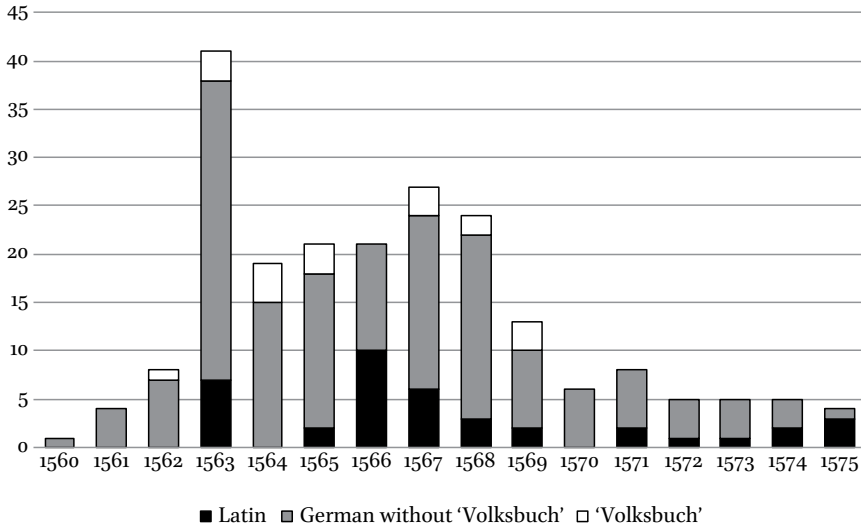


FIGURE 4.5 *Title production of Weigand Han heirs 1561–1572 published by Han heirs and printed by Georg Rab (1561–1575), Martin Lechler (1568) and Thomas Rebart (1567), as well as the “Companeï”-editions of Han heirs, Georg Rab and Sigmund Feyerabend (1563–1571)*

Already in 1565, Weigand Han's widow and heir Katharina married the type founder and printer Thomas Rebart from Jena; in the same year, she withdrew her portion of assets from the “Companeï” and at the autumn fair, Rebart bought four printing presses and their accessories from the heirs of the Frankfurt printer David Zöpffel. The paper mill in Alt-Thann also came into his possession by way of Katharina. Presumably he hoped to establish a print workshop and his own publishing house in Frankfurt in addition to the one in Jena after he had become entangled in the so-called ‘Grumbach Affair’ through no fault of his own and then placed under arrest in 1567 by Electoral Prince August of Saxony at the spring fair in Leipzig and kept imprisoned there for several months. Between 1566 and 1570, he printed 15 works on commission that were published by various Frankfurt publishers. In 1567, he printed four dated editions published by the Han heirs. On 6 June 1568, he purchased the “Historienbuchhandel”, or the wood blocks and editions for which woodcuts had been used, from his stepchildren for 1071 Gulden and 10 Batzen.¹⁵ The illustration cycles cut by Hans Brosamer for Hermann Gülfferich were certainly

15 Cf. Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend*, p. 146. – Margarethe had bestowed the books, which are in part from the Gülfferich printing workshop, to her grandchildren; cf. Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend*, p. 28.

among the wood blocks, as prints from them can still be found in the works published by Hartmann Han. In 1570, the year of his death, Rebart appears as a printer in four dated editions together with Kilian, Katharina's son from her marriage with Weigand Han. From 1569 onwards, the title production of the publishing firm Han heirs, printed with few exceptions by Georg Rab, fell dramatically.

The 'Volksbücher' comprise a large part of Kilian's and Hartmann's small title production (Fig. 4.6). Following Rebart's death, the publishing firm and Zöpfel's former printing workshop were at first led by his widow Katharina and Kilian Han, her and Weigand's son. In 1572, four dated editions appeared in whose imprints both Katharina and Kilian appear, including "Melusine". After 1571, Katharina's name no longer appears in imprints. From 1572 to 1577, the name Kilian Han appears, often only as the publisher, in imprints that name the printers Johann Schmidt and Paul Reffeler, his former guardians. Reffeler printed an edition of "Melusine" for Kilian that is dated 1577. Kilian Han left Frankfurt in the same year. The remainder of the book business of the "Companel" had been purchased from Weigand's four younger children – Kilian was the oldest son – by Sigmund and Johann Feyerabend.¹⁶ 11 further titles were published under the imprint of Hartmann Han, his brother, in

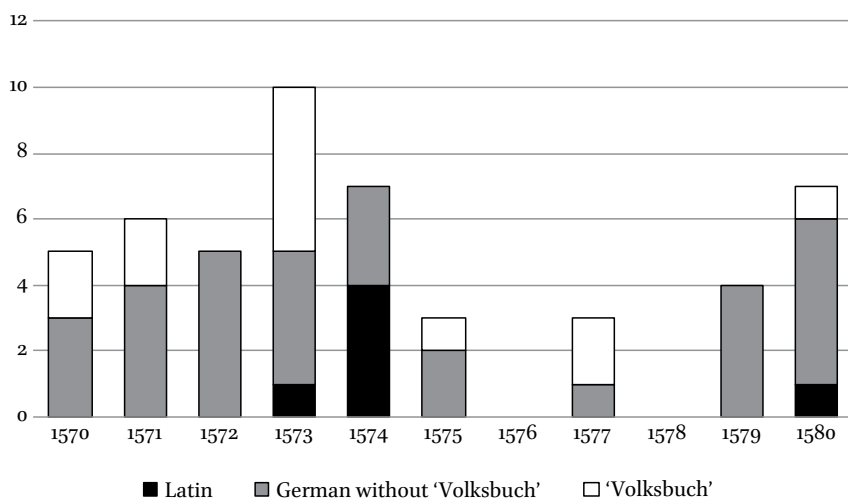


FIGURE 4.6 *Chronology of titles published by Kilian and Hartmann Han (1570–1580)*

¹⁶ Cf. Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend*, p. 48.

1579/80. He appears to have been active only as a publisher; in 1579, he worked with Paul Reffeler, and in 1580 with Johann Spiess, one of Kilian's former journeymen. Hartmann was expelled from the city in 1580 because of violent disputes and deficient moral conduct. Rather unfortunate circumstances within the family led to the decline of the firm.

Conclusion

Through almost four decades and the publication of 367 editions, close family ties and marriages within the book trade to bookbinders, book merchants and printer-publishers kept the business intact. The overview of the title production and the publication programme from the first editions of 1542 until the last ones in 1580 reflects the fortunes of the firm under its various directors. The archival sources that have been treated in exemplary fashion by Pallmann and Klöss, as well as the close examination of the imprints, reveal a publishing firm that enjoyed a high degree of continuity only at first glance. More or less stable conditions can be seen under the founder Hermann Gülfferich and his son in law Weigand Han from 1542 until 1562, as attested by the unity of printing and publication. Hermann Gülfferich's rise from book seller and book binder to a publisher who also did business as a paper merchant is characteristic for the beginnings of the firm. Gülfferich had purchased two paper mills in 1551/52 in Alsace, which remained to the last in the possession of family members. Thus the costs and supply of paper, a significant factor in production, could be kept under the firm's control, and paper delivery was an essential economic component of the agreement with Georg Rab. Weigand too was a book binder by trade and was active at times in the administration of the Alsace mills. The strong market orientation, which led to the firm's rise in the field of popular vernacular literature under Gülfferich and Weigand Han, is perhaps to be explained by the combination of various book-related trade skills and the nearness to the book market. The decision to sell the original building and the printing workshop was less a strategic decision than a stopgap measure. After Weigand's death, Margarethe Gülfferich directed business from the background under the name of "Han heirs" together with the printer Georg Rab, and was active in book distribution. With her death and the transfer of the publishing firm to her daughter in law and Thomas Rebart, who was entangled in political matters and only led the publishing house for three years, the firm was heading towards its end. Under Katharina and her sons Kilian and Hartmann, various printers were commissioned; the title production declined. Katharina, who led Rebart's business dealings in Jena following his death, was not able to save the business in Frankfurt.

New Product Strategies: The Development of 'Reader's Editions' as Exemplified by the Frankfurt "Melusine" Editions

Product Planning and the Book Market

From the business activities of the publishing house and its book production, a strategy becomes visible through which Gölfferrich, Weigand Han and the community of heirs were successful until Margarethe's death.

The plan was specifically based on:

- Emphasising titles that were of interest to a broad German reading public;
- Acquisition and reprinting of successful titles from other cities and workshops;
- Expanding previously emphasised areas with first editions, also including adaptation of adopted titles to the new target audience; for the first time, a relatively firmly bounded corpus of so-called 'Volksbücher' develops in the hand of a single firm;
- The development of a serial concept for the 'Volksbücher' in the narrower sense, the prose novels with late medieval fictional narrative texts: they appear in octavo format and with the same typographic form and decoration; the woodcut cycles of Hans Brosamer in the same format and style are essential.¹⁷
- Rapid republishing of titles in demand, in many cases for several decades.

In addition, there were other factors in their success, including print runs of at least 1500 copies on average for each edition, which allowed an economical unit cost and thus a favourable price per printed sheet.¹⁸ The location in Frankfurt was also advantageous. The printed sheets could be sold at the spring and fall trade fairs directly to intermediaries.

Even today, opinions diverge when it comes to the business of books and publishers' economic interests. On the one hand, the book as a cultural item is supposed to deny its character as an economic commodity as much as possible, yet on the other hand, books have to be successful in the marketplace. Even scholars are not immune to an ahistorical projection of the dichotomy between mind and money into the past. At the end of his comprehensive study, Eberhard Klöss renders the following judgment:

¹⁷ Cf. Bodo Gotzkowsky, *Die Buchholzschnitte Hans Brosamers zu den Frankfurter "Volksbuch"-Ausgaben und ihre Wiederverwendungen* (Baden-Baden, Koerner, 2002).

¹⁸ Cf. Schmidt, *Gölfferrich – Han Weigand Han-Erben*, p. 48.

In publication, the printer and publisher were primarily concerned with financial gain....[and] The published works were provided with defective typography, composition and printing. The books were mostly laid out in disorderly fashion and printed on bad paper.¹⁹

The Development of 'Reader's Editions'

I would like to counter this stern judgment with an analysis that shows that a scholarly judgment oriented solely around external features cannot do justice to the Frankfurt printers. A qualitative and interdisciplinary study instead permits the conclusion that their success, in addition to the strategy briefly summarised above, was based on the development of reader's editions that were aimed at the publishing firm's target audience. This will occur on three levels:

1. Language, orthography and composition
2. The image cycles, their tradition and the use of the material
3. Typography and reading

For this, I will draw on an interdisciplinary research project on the printed tradition of the "Melusine" from the fifteenth into the eighteenth centuries whose results have not yet been entirely published.²⁰ The disciplines of the history of the book, historical linguistics and art history were represented in this project, that investigated the multifaceted connections between textual history, image history, typography and reading in all 76 surviving editions of a text with a long tradition of transmission.²¹

In the following, I will sketch out some of the results of the project for the segment of transmission that concerns the Frankfurt editions of Gülfferich, Han and heirs that are the focus here. It should be noted at first that all seven separate Frankfurt editions of "Melusine" build upon each other

19 Cf. Klöss, 'Weigand Han', pp. 309–374: here pp. 346, 344.

20 The results will be published as: Hans-Jörg Künast & Ursula Rautenberg in cooperation with Martin Behr & Mechthild Haberman, *Die Überlieferung der "Melusine" des Thüring von Ringoltingen* (Berlin/Boston, de Gruyter, 2013 (in preparation)). Already published is the edited volume: Ursula Rautenberg, Hans-Jörg Künast, Mechthild Haberman & Heidrun Stein-Kecks (eds.), *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit. Die "Melusine" des Thüring von Ringoltingen* (Berlin/Boston, de Gruyter, 2012).

21 Contributors to the project included Hans-Jürg Künast (history of the book), Martin Behr (linguistics) and Benedicta Feraudi (art history).

chronologically: the previous edition is the point of departure for the following one. These adaptations therefore make possible the study and description of a continuous process of development.

Language, Orthography and Composition

The linguist Martin Behr investigated the language and orthography of selected portions of the text. One fundamental result is that from the first edition of Gülfferich in 1548 until the last edition of Kilian Han in 1577, the language and its graphical representation were continuously updated. Already under Gülfferich, the compositor consistently replaced the Augsburg-Swabian print dialect used by Steiner with the local West Middle German dialect. Features of foreign dialects were reduced in the individual editions step by step, and a linguistic standard was developed.

In addition – and this is the second important finding – Behr observed innovative developments in the graphical representation of language using the system of printed type. Variant spellings were progressively reduced and prevailing spellings were developed, for example for long vowels (long/i/is spelled <ie>) or the consistent use of a following <H> to mark long vowels. Gülfferich developed a standard or prevailing spelling convention on the basis of the relatively unified phonemic system of West Middle German, which he attempted to implement already in his first edition. Weigand Han continued this process, which reached its conclusion in the last editions. Behr speaks of the development of an extensively homogeneous standard for the phonology, morphology and spelling in the Frankfurt “Melusine” editions. How should this be interpreted? The innovations are the result of a change in perspective away from the encoding of the spoken words towards the recoding of the written word in reading, or in short: away from the recording function of language through print to an orientation towards the act of reading.

Behr’s observations are complemented by an essay by the linguist Anja Voeste.²² She takes as a starting point the rationalisation processes in composing and printing that changed the operation of printing workshops in the sixteenth century. The compositors had to keep pace with the time savings that had been achieved in the printing process. Abbreviations (especially letters with nasal strokes), ligatures and special symbols were gradually removed

22 Anja Voeste, ‘Den Leser im Blick. Die Professionalisierung des Setzerhandwerks im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Orthographie der Druckausgaben der »Melusine«, in Ursula Rautenberg, Hans-Jörg Künast, Mechthild Habermann & Heidrun Stein-Kecks (eds.), *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit. Die “Melusine” des Thüring von Ringoltingen* (Berlin/Boston, de Gruyter, 2012), pp. 141–162.

from the letter case. For the compositor, that meant on the one hand a complication, as the remaining repertory of types limited his possibilities, for example in completing a line of fully justified text. Nevertheless the development towards increased consistency of forms was not to be stopped; dual graphical forms and variant spellings were reduced. The layout as a whole became more uniform, and the work of compositing became faster.

It is astonishing that legibility nevertheless made considerable progress. A “Melusine” edition published in 1564 by the Han heirs and printed by Georg Rab marks a decisive turning point. Voeste is able to show using the edition as an example that nominal phrases become easier to decode through capitalisation of nouns; the clear division of syntactic units through an elaborate system of punctuation may also have contributed significantly to legibility. These innovations required greater care and grammatical competence from the compositors, requirements that ran contrary to the pursuit of rationalisation and time savings. This was accepted in order to produce more readable texts. The question for the compositor is no longer how one best represents a spoken word in writing, but rather how one best supports the extraction of meaning in reading. The compositor has the silent, still unpracticed ‘private’ reader in view.²³

The Image Cycles, their Tradition and the Use of the Material

For German popular novels, specifically ‘Volksbücher’, a cycle of woodcuts that matched the text belonged to the standard features. Editions without pictures would likely not have been accepted or marketable until the eighteenth century. For the printing of the first edition of 1549, Gülfferich did not yet have suitable illustrations, so without further ado he used the woodblocks of the “Fortunatus” edition that had been printed in the same year. In 1554 the second edition appeared with new woodcuts that were drawn and presumably cut as woodblocks by the renowned artist Hans Brosamer, who was Gülfferich’s book illustrator. Hans Brosamer presumably began the Melusine cycle between 1550 and 1552. In the 1552 edition of “Pontus und Sidonia”, Gülfferich made use of six woodcuts from the Melusine cycle; from this one can perhaps infer a lost Melusine edition that was published before 1554.²⁴

According to the research of the project’s art historian, Benedicta Feraudi, the Brosamer Melusine-cycle closely followed the model of Steiner’s illustrator in Augsburg, specifically either the edition of 1540 or 1543, as the Brosamer woodcuts are mirror images of the illustrations found in them. But they also

23 Cf. Voeste, p. 160.

24 Gotzkowsky, “*Volksbücher*”, pp. 377–394: here p. 385; Gotzkowsky, *Buchholzschnitte Hans Brosamers*, p. 145.

show Brosamer's individual artistic style in his adaptation of clothing to the fashions of the time; he otherwise limited himself to drawing out the essential features of the scenes.

Throughout its unsettled history from Hermann Gülfferich to Kilian Han, the wood blocks remained in possession of the 'Volksbuch' publishing house or were loaned to the commissioned printers Georg Rab and Paul Reffeler. All of the following editions drew on the basic store of wood blocks of *Ausgabe 1554*; in the last edition of Kilian Han of 1577, half of the original woodblocks were still in use. With the passage of years, worn-out wood blocks were replaced by recut blocks, or blocks from other works were used; in only in a few cases was new image material produced for scenes that had not previously been illustrated. The image cycles cut by Brosamer for the other 'Volksbuch' editions also remained with the Han publishing firm and its successors until the end.

Unlike the linguistic adaptation, the Brosamer woodcuts and the Frankfurt firm appears not to have been innovative in the illustrations and remain within the tradition of all the editions of their predecessors. The number of woodcuts, the scenes they illustrated and the iconography of the illustrations had not fundamentally changed since the first editions of Bernhard Richel in Basel ca. 1473/74 and Johann Bämle in Augsburg in 1474, and they still maintain their influence in seventeenth-century editions. In commissioning Brosamer, Gülfferich had taken an important and costly step, and was then in possession of a high-quality image cycle in the established tradition. The woodblocks were only adapted to the format of the small octavo editions (Steiner's editions were quartos) and to contemporary fashion; although the artist was free to employ his own individual style, the iconography and composition of the illustrations were otherwise retained.

Typography and Reading

For the typographic format, however, developments can be observed that are closely connected to linguistic and orthographic matters. The typographic analysis (Fig. 4.7) takes into consideration the interoperation of book format with the choice of types, the length and organisation of the text, the integration of illustrations and decorative elements, and also the use of paratexts and other means for structuring the text and so on.²⁵ I would like to focus on just one example: the print area, selection of types, number of lines per page and the distribution of white space on the printed page, including paragraph breaks, empty lines and line spacing.

25 Cf. Ursula Rautenberg, 'Typographie und Leseweisen. Überlegungen zu den Melusine-Ausgaben der Frankfurter Offizinen Gülfferich und Weigand Han/Han Erben', in Catherine Dittenbach & André Schnyder (eds.), *Eulenspiegel trifft Melusine. Der frühneuhoheutsche Prosaroman im Licht neuer Forschungen und neuer Methodenparadigmen* (Amsterdam/New York, Rodopi, 2010), pp. 341–363.

FIGURE 4.7 *Typography of the "Melusine"-Editions*

	Format and length	Printed area	Lines per page	Text types	Decorative types for titles (chapter headings) ²⁶
Gülfferich 1549	8°, 72 leaves, 39 woodcuts	117 × 71 mm	35 lines	Fraktur, 20 lines = 64 mm	Fraktur in 3 (first title) or 2 grades (all others)
Gülfferich 1554 (Fig. 4.8)	8°, 80 leaves, 62 woodcuts	117 × 71 mm	35 lines	Fraktur, 20 lines = 64 mm	Fraktur in 4 (first title) bzw. 2 grades (all others)
Han 1556	8°, 104 (?) leaves, 66 (?) woodcuts	115 × 71 mm	31 lines	Schwabacher, 20 lines = 74 mm	(first title:) Fraktur in 3 grades and 1 Schwabacher; (all others:) Schwabacher in 2 type sizes
Han [before 1562] (Fig. 4.9)	8°, 104 leaves, 64 woodcuts	114 × 73 mm	31 lines	Schwabacher, 20 lines = ca. 74 mm	(first title:) Fraktur in 3 grades, and 1 Schwabacher (basis type); (all others:) 1 Fraktur and 1 Schwabacher (basis type)
Georg Rab for Weigand Han 1564 (Fig. 4.9)	8°, 92 leaves, 62 woodcuts	122 × 73 mm	34 lines	Schwabacher, 20 lines = 74 mm	Fraktur in 4 (first title) or 2 grades (all others)
Thomas Rebart for Kilian Han 1571	8°, 112 leaves, 63 (?) woodcuts	124 (max) × 71 mm	29–30 lines	Schwabacher, 20 lines = 78 mm	Fraktur and Schwabacher in 2 grades (first title), Schwabacher in 2 grades (all others)
Paul Reffeler for Kilian Han 1577 (Fig. 4.11)	8°, 112 leaves, 63 woodcuts	125 × 71 mm	30 lines	Schwabacher, 20 lines = 78 mm	Fraktur in 3 grades (first title), Fraktur in 1 grade, Schwabacher (basis type) (all others)

²⁶ Title page types are not taken into consideration.

The summary shows the following groups:

- Gülferrich 1549 and 1554 from the presses in the “Haus zum Krug”;
- Weigand Han 1556 and before 1562 as well as Georg Rab for Weigand Han 1564 from the presses in the “Haus zum Krug” (acquired in April 1561 by Georg Rab);
- Thomas Rebart for Kilian Han 1571, presumably from the presses previously owned by Zöpfel (purchased by Rebart in 1565) as well as Paul Reffeler for Kilian Han 1577.

The Editions Gülferrich 1549 and 1554

Both editions are nearly identical, laid out with Fraktur types for the body text and the chapter headings in various type sizes. Initials and vignettes are from the same materials. The area of the printed page and the number of lines per page are identical. The difference in length is a product of the number of illustrations: in the edition of 1554, Gülferrich made use of the extensive Brosamer cycle.

Gülferrich fits 20 lines into 64 millimetres through the use of a heavy, densely set Fraktur. The double-page spread (Fig. 4.8) is a “leaden desert” that is only

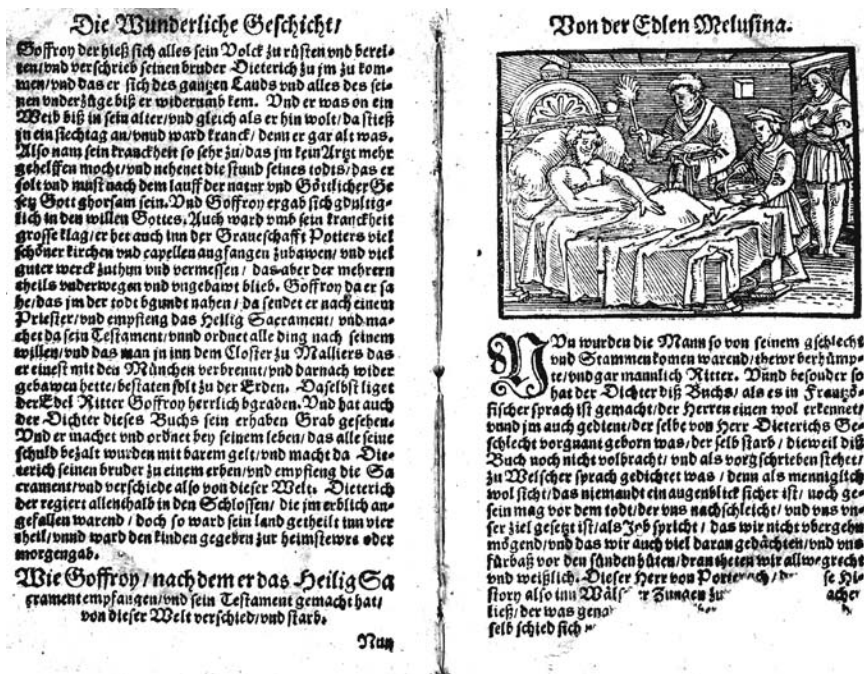


FIGURE 4.8 “Melusine.” Frankfurt a. M.: Hermann Gülferrich, 1554, fol. K4b/K5a

FRANKFURT AM MAIN, STADT- UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK, N.LIBR.
FF. 12125, NR. 5

relieved by chapter headings laid out in a triangular configuration, the woodcut and the initial. The actual text forms a block of heavy black type that offers scarcely any place for the eye to rest. This is especially true of the numerous pages and double-page spreads that are not broken up by chapter headings. For the narrow, vertically-directed type, the line spacing is rather narrow.

*Han's Editions of 1556 and before 1562 and the 1564 Edition of
Han's Heirs*

From 1556 onwards, all of Han's editions no longer made use of Fraktur for the text type but rather a Schwabacher type that was easier on readers. The two editions of 1556 and before 1562 are laid out nearly identically, with the same basis type in 31 lines and a printed area of the same format, and they have the same length (104 leaves). Mixtures of Fraktur and Schwabacher types also arise for the first time in the design of chapter headings. Vignettes and initials are drawn from Gülfferich's materials. One innovation compared to Gülfferich's practice is the indentation of paragraphs within the chapter text (Fig. 4.9), which can be observed haltingly from quire L onwards, but the closed text blocks predominate as in all previous editions.

The 1564 edition (Fig. 4.10) was printed in the "Haus zum Krug" with the same type material, but with Georg Rab as workshop director for the publishing house of Han's heirs.²⁷ Rab was able to reduce the length from 104 to 92 leaves by increasing the height of the printed area by almost a centimetre so that 34 lines could be set on each page. The text blocks are noticeably more open in the 1564 edition. Although the line spacing is still narrow, the broad Schwabacher, which emphasises the middle line or x-height, balances it out. The paragraph breaks on this double-page spread, clearly marked by the indentation with a white space at the beginning of the line, are especially noticeable; there is a visible effort to structure the text blocks according to sense units. Tentative steps in this direction can already be seen in the editions that were earlier printed by Weigand Han.

Thomas Rebart 1571 and Paul Reffeler for Kilian Han 1577

Both editions appeared during the last decade of the publishing house, printed respectively by Thomas Rebart with Kilian Han as publisher or printed by Paul Reffeler for Kilian Han. Paul Reffeler, an independent printer in Frankfurt, was married to Irmel Intz, a sister of Katharina Han. The editions, with 112 leaves and 63 woodcuts each, have the same length; the decorative elements also are drawn

²⁷ Cf. Klöss, 'Weigand Han', p. 344: "Obwohl der Typenbestand [mit der Übernahme der Druckerei von Weigand Han, UR] nicht wesentlich verändert wurde, so waren die Werke Rabs doch besser gesetzt und gedruckt."

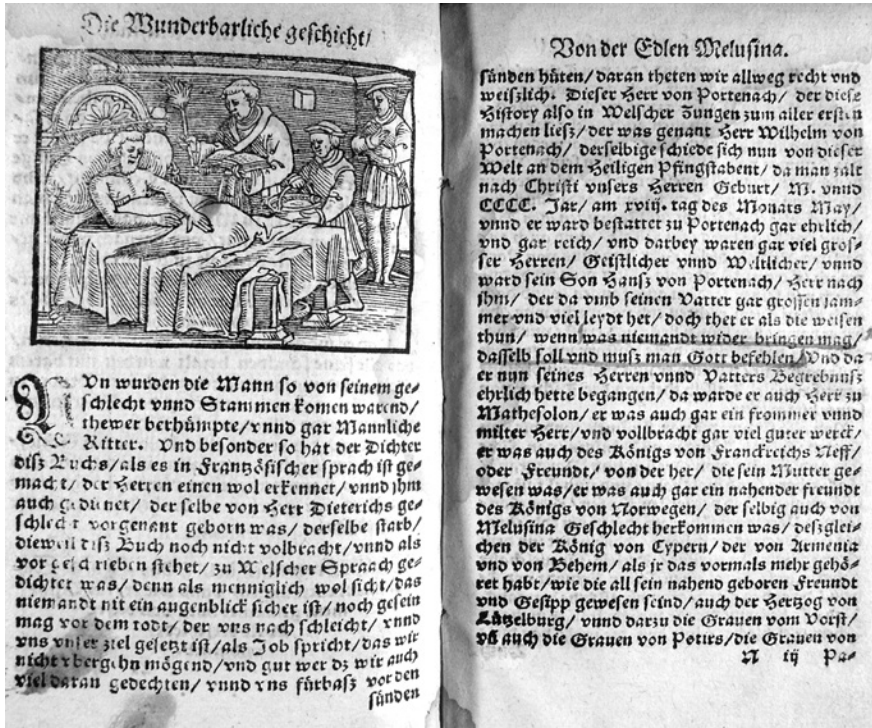


FIGURE 4.9 "Melusine." Frankfurt a. M.: Weigand Han [before 1562], fol. N2a/N3b
LÜNEBURG, RATSBUCHEREI, V 151 (3)

from the familiar material. Although both editions have almost identical printed areas with 29–30 or 30 lines per page, they were printed using different Schwabacher types, and Rebart did not reuse the type material from the previous Han/Rab edition of 1564. Rebart and Reffeler laid out the pages using the largest point size yet, with 20 lines amounting to 78 millimetres, which contributes to the impression of lightness that the page layouts of these two editions leave. The number of paragraphs in the body text also rose, still only modestly in Rebart's edition, while the Reffeler edition was overall carefully worked through.

The last edition in 1577 represents the culmination of legibility. I will only mention a few key points concerning the illustrated double-page spread (Fig. 4.11). The skilled use of white space, through which the printer demonstrated his sense of proportion, is striking. Reffeler did not divide the chapter heading and woodcut as his predecessors had by beginning a new page with the woodcut. This created surplus empty space at the end of the chapter, which he reduced through the use of empty lines; he reduces the white space at the ends of chapters, if necessary, by letting the last paragraph end in the form of a

Die Wunderbarliche geschichte

schaz alda hütet. Da nun Goffroy diese mår höret/da verwundert in dess vngewöhenen Thiers gar sehr/vñ sprach: Nun wolanach wil mich deß auch vnderstehn/ob mir es Gott gönnen wil.

Goffroy der hieß sich alles sein volck zurüffen vnd bereiten/vnd verschrieb seinen Bruder Dieterich zu im zu kommen /vnd das er sich deß ganzen Lands vnd alles deß seinen vnderzöge / biß er widerumb kem. Vnd er was ohn ein Weib/biß in sein alter/vnd gleich als er hin wolt/da stieß in ein siechtag an/vnd ward krank/denn er gar alt was.

Also nam sein Franchheit so sehr zu/das im kein Arzt mehr gehelffen mocht/vnd neher die stund seines tods / das er solt vnd must nach dem lauff der natur vnd Götlicher gesetz Gott gehorsam sein. Vnd Goffroy ergab sich gedültiglich in den willen Gottes. Auch ward vmb sein Franchheit grosse klage / er hett auch in der Graffschafft Poitiers viel schöner Kirchen vnd Cappellen angefangen zu bauen / vnd viel guter werck zuthun vnd vermessen/das aber der mehrern theils vns der wegen vnd vngewandt bleib. Goffroy da er sahe das im der tod begund nahen/da sendet er nach einem priester / vnd empfing das heilige Sacrament/vnd macht da sein Testament/vñ ordnet alle ding nach seinem willen/vñ das man ihn in dem Closter zu Malliers/das er einest mit den Mönchen verbrannt vnd darnach wider gebawen hette/bestatten solt zu der Erden.

Daselbest ligt der Edel Ritter Goffroy herrlich begraben. Vnd hat auch der Dichter dieses Buchs sein erhabene Grab gesehen.

Vnd er macht vnd ordnet bey seinem Leben/ das

Von der Edlen Melusina.

das alle seine schulden bezahlt wurden mit barem Gelt/vñnd macht da Dieterich seinen Bruder zu einem Erben/vnd empfing das Sacrament/vñ verschiede also von dieser welt.

Dieterich der regiert allenthalb in den Schloßsen / die ihm Erblich angefallen waren/doch so ward sein Land getheilt in vier theil / vnd ward den Andern gegeben zu der heimstewre oder morgengabe.

Wie Goffroy / nach dem er das heilige Sacrament empfangen / vnd wie er sein Testament gemacht hat/ von dieser welt verschiede / vnd starb.



Vn wurden die Mann so von seinem geschlecht vnd Stammen Forren waren/ thewer berümpte/vnd gar Mannliche Ritter. Vnd besondert so hat der Dichter

FIGURE 4.10 "Melusine." Frankfurt a. M.: Georg Rab and Weigand Han heirs, 1564, fol. L7b/L8a ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, PAL. V. 364 (INT. 5)

triangle. I would like to point out the placing of the catchword on the right that anticipated the typeface and the type size of the first word of the caption, but is skillfully placed in the empty area at the end of the page. The woodcut, which is left free by empty lines, is also used to good effect. Reffeler also used frequent paragraph breaks to structure the text, which he marks in two ways: an Em-space indentation at the beginning of the line and an empty line. The latter is however due to the fact that Reffeler did not divide the chapter heading and woodcut as his predecessors had by beginning a new page with the woodcut. This created surplus empty space at the end of the chapter, which he reduced through the use of empty lines. Aesthetic concerns may have taken precedence over the orientation towards the reader in this case.

Conclusion

If one surveys the typographic changes between Gülfferich and Reffeler that were analysed here only with respect to a limited number of criteria, one can

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nahen/da sendet er nach einem Priester/vnd empfieng das heylige hochwirdige Sacrament/vñ machet da sein Testament/vnd ordenet alle ding nach seinem willen/vnd daß man in in dem Kloster zu Malliers/daß er einest mit den Mönchen verbrennet/vnd darnach wider gebawen hette/bestatten soltzu der Erden.

Daselbst ligt der Edel Ritter Goffroy herlich begraben. Vñ hat auch der Dichter dieses Buchs/sein erhaben Grab gesehen.

Vñnd er machet vñnd ordenet bey seinem Leben/daß alle seine Schulden bezahlet wurden/mit barem Gelt/vñnd machet da Dieterich seinen Bruder zu einem Erben/vñnd empfieng das hochwirdige Sacrament/vñnd verschiede also von dieser Welt.

Dieterich der regieret allenthalben inn den Schloßern/die ihm Erblich angefallen waren/doch so ward sein Land getheilet inn vier theil/vñnd ward den Kindern gegeben zu der heimsteuer oder morgengabe.

Wie

Von der Edlen Melusina.

Wie Goffroy/nach dem er das heilige Hochwirdig Sacrament empfangen/vñnd wie er sein Testament gemacht hat/von dieser Welt verschiede/vnd starbe.



Vñ wurden die Mann so vomn seinem Geschlecht vñd Stammen kommen waren/theuwer berhümpte/vñnd gar sehr Männliche Ritter. Vñnd besonder so hat der Dichter diß Buchs/als es inn Französcher Sprach ist gemacht/der Herren einen wol erkennen/vñnd ihm auch gedienet/der selbige von Herr Dieterichs Geschlecht vorgehandt geboren was/der selbige starbe/dieweil diß Buch noch

FIGURE 4.11 "Melusine" Frankfurt a. M.: Paul Reffeler for Kilian Han, 1577, fol. N8b/O1a
GÖTTINGEN SUB, 8 FEB III 2028 RARA

find a continual improvement in legibility and accommodation of the reader. The typography of Gülfferich's editions is less successful, even in context of similar printed works of the time. One cannot overstate the credit he deserves, however, for seeing to new and high-quality image material for his 'Volksbuch' editions and for employing one of the best book illustrators of the time, Hans Brosamer. The significant financial outlay required for over 160 wood blocks in six illustration cycles was worth the investment, as the quick success of the editions shows. Efforts to improve the typographic and compositional design had to wait for his successors. An important step was the transition from Fraktur to Schwabacher type and the continuous reduction in the number of lines per page while simultaneously modestly enlarging the printed area of the page. The length rose because of that from 72 leaves in Gülfferich's editions to 112 leaves in Rebart's and Reffeler's. The indentation of paragraphs within the chapters is an innovation that suggests a clear orientation towards those who are silent and not yet habitual readers: the dividing of larger chapters and

amounts of text into smaller sections makes finding one's place in the text easier. Following a halting origin with Han, beginning with enumerations and lists towards the end of "Melusine", a thorough typographic reworking of the body text in Reffeler's edition marks the end of the development.

The observation of these tendencies is based on a detailed analysis of a few editions. The typographic measures, especially the division of paragraphs, are not innovations of the Frankfurt printers, but rather were employed in printing workshops of a different kind with high-quality editions already in the first half of the century. Yet if we remain in the region of Frankfurt and in the context of printing popular texts, the continual improvement in favour of the reader is by no means typical. This can be seen from a double-page spread (Fig. 4.12) from the edition published in 1578 by a Frankfurt competitor, the Egenolff heirs. Already at first glance, the typographical design appears antiquated compared to the almost simultaneously published Han edition.

If one includes the changes in personnel during the history of the firm of Gölfferrich, Han and heirs in the typographic analysis, the importance of the printer or compositor becomes clear. Historical linguistic investigations of printing languages have recently demonstrated the significance of this occupational group who determined not only the page layout and typographic



FIGURE 4.12 "Melusine" [Frankfurt a. M: Christian Egenolff heirs, ca. 1578], fol. T2b/T3a. 8°
CRACOW JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY, YU 841

composition, but also broadly intervened in the linguistic form. For the sixteenth century, Anja Voeste has in particular pointed out the connection between the professionalisation of the compositor's trade and the consequences for orthography.²⁸ The "Melusine" editions provide evidence of continuous work on the language of the work that went hand in hand and in the same direction with typographic changes. The compositors and workshop directors were responsible for both, which can particularly be seen in the cases of Georg Rab, Thomas Rebart and Paul Reffeler. Surprisingly, the innovative tendencies in language and typography of the Frankfurt "Melusine" editions studied here proceed in the opposite direction from the commercial success or failure in the final decade. External conditions such as the political affair in which Rebart was entangled, and the internal lack of business sense or aptitude among the heirs, led in this case to ruin, not a lack of 'production values' in the modern sense.

Niche Publishing and Orientation Towards the Market and the Reader

In conclusion, I would like to return to the verdict of Erhard Klöss cited above that the publishing family of Gülfferich, Han and heirs was only concerned with profit. I hope that the various analyses have shown that a judgment based only on external features and signs of quality is insufficient, especially when these are combined with the prejudice that quality and a market orientation are mutually exclusive. These innovations are closely connected to the development of a high-quality page layout, or a typographic arrangement that can be regarded as a predecessor of a modern 'typography of reading'.

Unlike earlier studies of the publishing firm of Gülfferich, Han and heirs, the thesis of this essay is based on interdisciplinary cooperation and a qualitative analysis on the micro scale from each of the participating disciplines. Each discipline contributed its specific guiding questions and methods, which consequently led to a conclusive overall result.

28 Cf. Anja Voeste, *Orthographie und Innovation. Die Segmentierung des Wortes im 16. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, Olms 2008), esp. Chapter 3.4; Arend Mihm, 'Druckersprachen und gesprochene Varietäten. Der Zeugniswert von Bäumlers "Melusine"-Druck (1474) für eine bedeutende Frage der Sprachgeschichte', in Ursula Rautenberg, Hans-Jörg Künast, Mechthild Habermann & Heidrun Stein-Kecks (eds.), *Zeichensprachen des literarischen Buchs in der frühen Neuzeit. Die „Melusine“ des Thüring von Ringoltingen* (Berlin/Boston, de Gruyter, 2012), pp. 163–203.

The formula for success of the firm of Güllfferich, Han and heirs was based on several things: on specialisation and a targeted planning of the range of titles that accommodated the needs of a vernacular reading public and that went hand in hand with the rationalisation of production and editions with large print runs, which made affordable books possible. On the other side is a change in perspective to an orientation towards the reader in the book itself. The Frankfurt “Melusine” editions are an impressive example that there is no contradiction between an orientation towards the market and an orientation towards the reader.

Exotic Knowledge as Commodity: De Bry's *Historia Indiae Orientalis*

Isabella Matauschek

The engraver and publisher Theodor de Bry and his sons Johan Theodore and Johan Israel compiled, commissioned translations and published, elaborated with opulent engravings, major texts of the European expansion. One of their highly successful publishing projects was the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* upon which I will focus in the following. The inclusion of the famed engravings turned their publications into what has been regarded as the pre-eminent example of the early modern 'coffee-table' book. The term coffee-table book evokes the image of the armchair connoisseur: the texts were indeed intended for a lay public without immediate trading or colonial interests in the lands described. The publication of these works turned into a highly profitable business venture. Editions in Latin as well as German made it possible to thoroughly penetrate the market for exotic knowledge while concurrently generating a Europe-wide market for their books.

The *Historia Indiae Orientalis* as well as the *Indiae Occidentalis* series is not valued for its factual information on either Asia or the Americas, nor has it been since the eighteenth century. However, whenever scholarly attention shifts to questions pertaining to the historical representation of Asia or the Americas, the series features prominently. In general, an important role in the creation of a common European horizon of knowledge and imagination surrounding Asia and the Americas is ascribed to the series. With this, the question of Orientalism and the role that the series played in the creation of European attitudes toward the Orient surfaces. The study of representations, especially historical ones, tends to be fuzzy. In most cases it is difficult to decide if a particular representation should be treated as an expression of a given set of ideas or as being actively engaged in the creation of such a horizon of imagination – or, indeed, both.

This scholarly focus on representation has profoundly impacted the study of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* series and has privileged the study of the famed engravings. Michiel van Groesen's thoughtful study introduced a distinct book history perspective to this discussion.¹

¹ Michiel van Groesen, *The representations of the overseas world in the de Bry collection of voyages, 1590–1634* (Leiden, Brill, 2008).

Van Groesen directed attention to the fact that the series was not primarily an exercise in the representation of the overseas world but a publishing enterprise directed towards specific book markets. The content of the series is thus shaped (besides obviously by authors) by technical and economic decisions, by the editors and translators and, certainly not least, by success or failure in the relevant markets. And even if economic issues are not the prime concern, as is the case in most interpretations of the de Brys' travel collections, a thorough interpretation benefits from taking the economic questions into account.

An important issue to investigate is what determines entry into and exit from niche markets and how economic success and failure impacts the specialisation of media firms. The de Bry workshop provides an excellent opportunity to observe not only the entry into a market niche but ultimately the creation of such a niche, both lucrative on the economic level and most influential on the cultural level.

Specialisation and Diversification: The Place of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* Series in the de Brys' Publishing Strategy

How can the niche that the de Bry workshop created be described? Their works are characterised by lavish engravings of high artistic value. The texts, that formed the *India Orientalis*, as well as the *America* series, were translated not only into different languages but in most cases also into a different jargon, namely humanist writing. The other pillars of the de Bry publishing house, emblem books and humanist scholarship, both fed into the creation of the highly successful series. The publishing strategy remained successful even after the de Bry workshop ceased to exist in 1625 and was continued by its successor firms.

The three pillars of the de Bry workshop were present from the inception of the publishing house in 1590. And both other pillars, emblem books and humanist scholarship, in their turn, shaped the travel series. The de Brys started their publishing business with Thomas Harriot's, *A briefe and true report*, which became the first volume of their *America* series.² The volume appeared in four languages: Latin, German, French and English. Here we see that the winning formula was not in place from the beginning. All the later volumes were

² Thomas Harriot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discovered by the English colon there seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight in the yeere 1585* (Frankfurt, Johann Wechel, sumt. Theodore de Bry, typis Johann Wechel, 1590).

published in Latin and German only, though they continued to publish other titles in French. The niche the de Bry *officina* inhabited with such success was created along the way, their specialisation was the result of learning by doing, no doubt with economic successes and set-backs feeding into their publication strategies.

For a long time, confessional-based interpretations of the series have dominated the scholarly discussions: they were interpreted as a Protestant endeavour directed against Catholicism. This view was convincingly refuted by a younger generation of scholars, the art historian Anna Greve and the historian Michiel van Groesen amongst others.³ They pointed to the fact that the series was sold both in Protestant and Catholic Europe. Not only was the Latin market both Catholic and Protestant, but also the German one. Furthermore, for many of their publications the de Brys obtained an Imperial privilege, which would have been unobtainable had the books been perceived as Protestant polemics. In this context the merits of incorporating business considerations into the interpretation of cultural phenomena becomes evident.

The series itself aimed at an inter-confessional readership. Not only was the intended market of the series inter-confessional, but we also observe an inter-confessional network of scholars and translators at work in the production of the series. Although Theodore de Bry and his sons were devout Reformed Protestants, they nevertheless collaborated with Catholics and Lutherans from the same shared sociospatial environment – often with acute business interests attached. Selling books in the German-speaking world after all necessitated a careful treading of confessional lines. However, the core of the de Bry network was Protestant and the geographical focus of their network remained firmly anchored within Reformed Europe.

The first volume of the *India Orientalis* series appeared in 1597 and was based upon a mediated translation. Mediated translations and compilations generally played a significant role within the *India Orientalis* as well as the *America* series. The texts and images included in these works were in turn taken up by others; the texts were translated into other languages and the images used in different contexts. These practices further increased the influence of the series. This first volume, dealing with the kingdom of Congo, is based upon Filippo Pigagetta's compilation of Portuguese sources from 1591. The translator of the first volume was Agostino Cassidoro de Reyna, son of the Spanish theologian Cassidoro de Reina. Agostino de Reyna was born in 1571,

3 Anna Greve, *Die Konstruktion Amerikas. Bilderpolitik in den "Grands Voyages" aus der Werkstatt de Bry* (Cologne, Böhlau, 2004), pp. 38, 211–219.

the same year his father had received his citizenship of Frankfurt.⁴ Prior to the de Brys' two-decades-long collaboration with Gotthard Arthus, the translators for the *India Orientalis* series were trained humanists, among whom two were obscure sons of illustrious fathers. Agostino Cassiodoro de Reyna is only known for his translation of the first volume and his contribution to the translation of a volume of the *America* series. Johann Adam Lonicer, the translator of the first Linschoten volume, came from a Lutheran family of distinguished German professors with a firm link to the Frankfurt book trade via his maternal grandfather, the printer Christian Egenolff.⁵ The biography of the third translator, Bilibaldus Strobaeus, who translated the third, fourth and fifth volumes from Arthus's German version into Latin, all of which appeared in 1601, remains in the dark: of his background it is only known that he originated from Silesia. Gotthard Arthus, the main translator of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* series, was a prolific translator from Dutch, who had started to collaborate with the de Brys in 1599, four years after he had settled in Frankfurt. Arthus, a native of Gdansk (Danzig), studied at the University of Jena and then took up a position at the *Stadtschule* in Frankfurt am Main in 1595. There he became *Conrector* in 1618. Apart from his translations from Dutch, he published extensively on contemporary historical subjects. Arthus is most noted in the context of news publishing for his continuation of the *Mercurius gallobelgicus*.

The second volume of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* series was based upon van Linschoten's famed *Itinerario*. This opus by the luminary of Dutch travel and travel writing, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, is part travel writing, part compilation of Portuguese sources. Van Linschoten's experiences in *Asia Portuguesa*, the Azores, and not least, the Iberian peninsula, formed the basis for the *Itinerario*. In Goa, for instance, van Linschoten had copied the *roteiros* (rutters or sailing directions), which summarised a century's experience of Portuguese navigation in Asia. And in the Azores Linschoten had assembled notes on the Iberian pepper trade, which explained the workings of the monopoly.

4 The translation is attributed by some authors to Agostino's father. As Cassiodoro de Reyna had died four years prior to the publication of the volume this view seems highly improbable. Arthur Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro De Reyna. Spanish reformer of the sixteenth century* (London, Tamesis, 1975), p. 59.

5 Lonicer is generally depicted as the black sheep of his family. He did not finish his medical studies and had converted to Catholicism in the debtor's tower before he started his collaboration with the de Brys. Wilhelm Stricker, 'Lonicerus, Adam', in *Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (ed.) *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 19 (1884), pp. 157–158.

It was van Linschoten's navigational directions, above all else, that excited the Republic's merchants, who were quick to recognise their economic and political worth. Linschoten writings influenced the earliest Dutch expeditions. The travel writings flowing from these earliest Dutch expeditions would in turn become part of the *India Orientalis* series.

With the publication of the van Linschoten texts in the *India Orientalis* series, the sources of mediated, ready-compiled texts were exhausted. They were exhausted well before the interest in the material generated by the serialisation of the de Bry collection had waned. The de Brys then started to look for new texts and came upon the accounts flowing from the emerging Dutch East India trade. These publications served the professional interests of those merchants eager to enter the lucrative spice trade with East India and also catered to the 'curieuese lief-hebbers', the curious aficionados interested in the overseas territories, as van Linschoten had addressed them in the foreword of his *Itinerario*. With the sixth volume the supply of printed sources was finally exhausted. In the seventh volume, they again turned to Italy, and included the accounts of the Venetian traveller and merchant, Gasparo Balbi's *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali*, who had travelled in the wake of the Portuguese from 1590. For the following volumes, namely eight to nine, the de Brys tapped into material available in the Republic made up of previously unpublished manuscripts.

From Applied Knowledge to Humanist Scholarship

The Dutch texts included in the *India Orientalis* series, the published ones as well as the manuscripts, were based upon the so-called *Dagregisters*, ship journals that the captains and other members of the crew were required to keep. The reports' genesis is reflected in the texts' structure: they follow a chronological, day-to-day order. They also served the expressed purpose of accumulating applied knowledge useful for the Dutch East India Company and her predecessors. By the end of the eighteenth century, the ships of the Dutch East India Company set sail with a copy of an order on board that required the captain to register in the ship journals "noteworthy affairs and events, as the description of the shape of the primary islands passed, mountains, coastal formations, with their soundings or distance, correct the maps with currents, fairways and everything that is newly discovered and is of relevance to navigation" – with a stern command to leave all trivia out.⁶

6 Nationaal Archief 1.04.02, 5035 Instructies en orders voor de schepen varende van en naar Indië en in Indische wateren. Ordre wegens het houtden en Schryven der Dagregisters, op de

Whereas at the beginning of Dutch East Indian trade, anthropological information, religion, linguistic information, knowledge about customs of trade and general interaction and political analysis were collected by the members of the crew alongside nautical and geographical information, this had changed over time; once a permanent presence in Asia was established, this type of information was supplied by employees stationed on the ground.

The volumes of the de Bry travel collection transformed knowledge collected within a specific setting and published within a distinctive context into something different – a commodity appealing to a culturally and socially heterogeneous audience with a common humanist educational background.

An interesting example of this process is presented by the inclusion of Frederik de Houtman's *Spreack ende Woordenboek*, a Dutch-Malay-Madagassy glossary, in the *India Orientalis* series. As an epitome of applied knowledge, this glossary was perhaps the most unlikely candidate for inclusion in the series. The glossary, published in 1603, was intended to impart the necessary linguistic and cultural skills to Dutch traders operating in maritime Southeast Asia. Houtman's *Spreack ende Woordenboek* was in turn based upon Noël van Berlaimont's influential *Vocabulare*. The book is a classic of early modern language instruction and it is one of the most successful and most frequently printed works of its type. It saw more than 140 editions during the sixteenth century and was in wide use until the middle of the eighteenth century. Over the course of the sixteenth century the original text was augmented with further dialogues and more languages were added to the original bilingual Dutch-French version: by the end of the sixteenth century Berlaimont's *Vocabulare* included English, German, Spanish, Latin and Portuguese alongside Dutch and French. Especially important to Dutch East India merchants was the addition of Portuguese, as Portuguese and Portuguese-based creoles were important *linguae francae* in South and Southeast Asia. Houtman, who had spent two years as a prisoner of the Sultan of Aceh on the island of Sumatra, adopted some of the dialogues from the *Vocabulare*, adapted others and included new dialogues.

Houtman's *Spreaek ende word-boeck* was translated by the main translator of the de Bry series, Gotthard Arthus, into Latin. It was included in the appendix of the ninth volume of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* in 1613. In the following year this text was translated into English and published within the context of the English East India Company.⁷

Scheepen der Oost-Indische Compagnie, zo als by de Vergadering der Seventienen is gearresteerd. 1783.

7 The library of Westminster School holds a cover page bound into another volume that states Michael Lok as the translator of the volume. I am grateful to Samuli Kaislaniemi for sharing this

Whereas both the original Dutch and the English translations underline the usefulness of the dialogues for the East India merchants, in Arthus' translation the title page stresses, "in gratiam eorum, qui navigationem forte in Orientalem Indiam suscepturi sunt, conscriptae." Arthus places the stress on the authentication provided by the reference to those who had undertaken the strenuous travel. After all the series did not intend to provide useful information for actual travels.

A German Linschoten: Georg Meister's Reception of the *India Orientalis* Series in Baroque Splendour

The enduring success and continuing prestige of the series beyond the time of its publication can be detected in the surge of German language publications by German Dutch East India employees modelled upon the series during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸ One of the most spectacular and popular of these is Georg Meister's *Der Orientalisch-Indianische Kunst- und Lust-Gärtner*.⁹ The humble gardener Georg Meister (1653–1713) had, via his employment in the Dutch East India Company, risen to the position of the art and pleasure gardener, responsible for the exotic plant collection, at the court in Dresden. This position was very prestigious as Dresden was a centre of baroque garden culture in the empire. In 1692, almost one hundred years after Linschoten *Itinerario*'s inclusion in the *India Orientalis* series, Meister published his opus, printed by Johann Riedel in Dresden. Meister's work can only be characterised

information. All remaining copies however list Augustine Spalding, an employee of the English East India Company, as the translator. Spalding was fluent in Malay and improved the Malay text.

- 8 The Dutch East India Company relied extensively on Central European labour, especially in the lower ranks and its military. Roelof van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur: Duitsers in dienst van de VOC (1600–1800)* (Nijmegen, SUN, 1997).
- 9 Georg Meister, *Der Orientalisch-Indianische Kunst- und Lust-Gärtner: Das ist: Eine aufrichtige Beschreibung Derer meisten Indianischen/als auf Java Maior, Malacca und Jappon, wachsenden Gewürtz- Frucht- und Blumen-Bäume/wie auch anderer raren Blumen/Kräuter- und Stauden-Gewächse/sampt ihren Saamen/nebst umständigen Bericht deroeselden Indianischen Nahmen/so wol ihrer in der Medicin als Oeconomie und gemeinem Leben mit sich führendem Gebrauch und Nutzen; Wie auch Noch andere denckwürdige Anmerckungen/was bey des Autoris zweymahliger Reise nach Jappon, von Java Maior, oder Batavia, längst derer Cüsten Sina, Siam, und rückwärts über Malacca, daselbsten gesehen.../Auch Vermittelst...ins Kupffer gebrachter Indianischer Figuren/von Bäumen/Gewächsen/Kräutern/Blumen und Nationen entworfen...durch George Meistern/Dieser Zeit Churfl. Sächs. bestallten Indianischen Kunst- und Lust-Gärtner* (Dresden, in Verlegung des Autoris, printed by Riedel, 1692).

as a baroque Linschoten, the model of the de Bry edition is both followed closely as well as heightened and exaggerated. Moreover, Meister frequently refers to different volumes of the series. Apart from botanical descriptions, Meister's work is part travel account, part language study, and it provides geographical information alongside ethnological.¹⁰ Just as Linschoten had elucidated the workings of the Iberian pepper monopoly, Meister, for instance, provided his readers with detailed lists of the goods that the Dutch traded at various Asian ports. The work however is most notably a study of Southeast Asian and Japanese botany. Meister's botanical studies do not meet the standards of academic botany of his time. The portrayal of plants is interspersed with descriptions of their use and moral musings. The author addresses Dresden society directly and seeks to entertain more than to educate.

The lavish engravings emulate the de Bry series. They were executed by the Dresden court engraver Moritz Bodenehr. The first engraving depicts the proud author. The volume is dedicated to Johann Georg Elector of Saxony, who had succeeded his father the previous year. The splendid tome is both evidence of the status and prestige that Georg Meister had accumulated throughout his career and underlines his claim to these. To this purpose Meister also includes his letters of recommendation by noted botanists of his time. The publication also proved an economic success and was reissued into the first third of the eighteenth century.¹¹

The Social Representation of the Orient: The Impact of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* Series

The social psychologist and founder of social representation theory, Serge Moscovici, reminds us that "most of our perceptions – what we see and hear – our beliefs and our information about people and things, are not directly factual. We acquire them from other people, via conversations, mass media and handing down, so that their origin is in fact interpersonal or social."¹²

10 Especially Meister's language studies have become famous as he provided the first dialogue in a Portuguese Creole, the Malayo-Portuguese of Batavia. Hugo Schuchardt, *Kreolische Studien IX. Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu*. Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna, F. Tempsky, 1890).

11 The book was reissued by Hekel in 1710 and 1731.

12 Serge Moscovici, 'Foreword', in W. Wagner & N. Hayes (eds.), *Everyday discourse and common sense. The theory of social representations* (Houndsmills, Palgrave, 2005), p. xi.

These observations, though made in reference to contemporary societies, open an avenue for the appreciation of the role played by the de Bry series in the formation of a European imagination surrounding the peoples and lands encountered in the course of the European expansion. The travels themselves became objects of representations, primarily in the form of travelogues and ship journals written by participants of the European expeditions. Many of these manuscripts were subsequently published and catered to a public eager for information. Via the publication and the inclusion in the successful de Bry series these texts and images were streamlined on the level of content and, even more importantly, in terms of form and language. This manner of sequencing the texts interrelated the series as a whole, thereby making them part of the body of popular knowledge and imagination of foreign worlds encountered by European travellers and traders. These representations developed in turn into sources of second-hand knowledge and as such were certainly not part of everyday life and experience, neither of the de Brys as the publishers, nor the translators and their intended readers. The series offered important building blocks for the construction of social representations – a shared horizon of knowledge and imagination vis-à-vis Asia.

As social representations are neither innate nor ahistoric, but of a social origin, they are affected by culture and change over time. Thus social representations are ultimately historical creations, formed in the mutual interchange between art, science and everyday thought.¹³ An important accomplishment of the series was that it turned the travelogues, ship journals and accounts of various sources into potentially meaningful parts of a European cultural imagination.

The art historian Henry Keazor in a detailed analysis of a self-portrait of Theodor de Bry, points to the parallelisation of an expanding outer world with the inner world and links the contemporary melancholy discourse with the *India Orientalis* and *Occidentalis* series.¹⁴ The image of an increasingly global world is made meaningful to a humanist European audience. The new lands and peoples encountered by European merchants and explorers are transformed into a cultural knowledge that is ultimately only intelligible to the members of this culture and with which only they are able to interact.¹⁵

13 Moscovici, 'Foreword', p. xiii.

14 Henry Keazor, "Charting the autobiographical, selfregarding subject?" Theodor De Brys Selbstbildnis', in S. Burghartz, M. Christadler & D. Nolde (eds.), *Berichten, Erzählen, Beherrschen. Wahrnehmung und Repräsentation in der frühen Kolonialgeschichte Europas* (Frankfurt, Vittorio Klostermann, 2003), pp. 395–428.

15 Wagner, *Everyday discourse*, pp. 161–163.

In trying to approximate the nature of these representations most researchers assign a key role to the engravings, especially as they constitute the most direct intervention of the de Brys. The interpretation of the engravings however has posed serious difficulties to the interpreters from different disciplines. In particular, those interpretations that sought to find a single unifying principle have again and again been refuted: it is not so much that these interpretations are entirely wrong but, in most cases, they are only partially convincing and leave important aspects unexplained. Bernadette Bucher in her thesis, *La sauvage aux sein pendants*, for instance, attempted a Lévi-Straussian interpretation of the series from an anthropological angle.¹⁶ More recent interpretations give greater attention to the ambiguous nature of the images. The art historian Anna Greve brought forward an analysis of the *America* series' engravings that addresses explicitly the images' ambivalence. The Dutch art historian Ernst van den Boogaart proposed an interpretation of the *India Orientalis* series' engravings based on the early modern understanding of cultural diversity and the hierarchical classification of extra-European societies.¹⁷ In a rather bitter and polemical review of van Groesen's book Boogaart refutes van Groesen's claims that the engravings depicted European supremacy vis-à-vis wild and uncivilised barbarians. According to Boogaart the texts as well as the images in both the de Bry series portray widely varied contact situations that do not operate within the binary contrasts he detects in van Groesen's account.¹⁸ It is indeed a weaker point of van Groesen's account that he deducts a uniform depiction of diversity that opposes European civilisation with extra-European barbarism from the fact that the series was intended for a European-wide market. The need to systematise and provide uniformity points to a later age as the historian Susanne Burghartz explicates. Burghartz emphasises that the series does not portray a homogenous or coherent image of the overseas world but presents images oscillating between poles. These juxtapose evidence

16 Bernadette Bucher, *La sauvage aux sein pendants* (Paris, Herman, 1977). English translation: *Icon and conquest. A structural analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's great voyages* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981).

17 Ernst van den Boogaart, 'Heathendom and civility in the *Historia India Orientalis*. The adaptation by Johan Theodor and Johan Israel de Bry of the edifying series of plates from Linschoten's *Itinerario*', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 53 (2002), pp. 71–105. Idem, 'De Brys' Africa' in S. Burghartz (ed.), *Inszenierte Welten. Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590–1630/Staging New Worlds. De Brys' illustrated travel reports, 1590–1630* (Basel, Schwabe, 2004), pp. 95–155.

18 Ernst van den Boogaart, 'Review of M. van Groesen, The representations of the overseas world in the De Bry collection of voyages (1590–1634)', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 124/2 (2009), pp. 270–273.

of European fascination and admiration with the assertion of European supremacy and abhorrence vis-à-vis indigenous barbarism. It is in these opposed, ambiguous images that Burghartz sees the foundation of the successful claim to European supremacy. Contrary to today's expectancy of clarity and unambiguousness, she emphasises the functionality of these seemingly conflicting images and representations at a time when European dominance was by no means assured.¹⁹

In the case of the de Bry travel collection we see the use of established cultural modes and patterns to translate the new into the culturally knowledgeable, but by no means a unified image of the overseas world. Translating the new into the known of course is neither new nor unique to the series. Already the first travellers whose accounts were included in the series made attempts at cultural translation. To give just one example: when trying to explain the use of Malay as a *lingua franca* in maritime Southeast Asia, the Dutch sailor Willem Lodewijksz likened it to the use of French in European courts. Comparing the new and unknown to known phenomena constitutes a basic form of cultural translation.

With the de Bry collection the travel accounts were transposed from information gleaned by travellers and merchants into humanist language and ultimately a humanist frame of understanding and science. This transposition was done deliberately: humanist translators edited the texts and the engravings borrow from the form and prestige of the genre of emblem books. The volumes presented the text and at the end the images in the form of an emblem book followed. Not only were the images created with great care and artistic splendour. The texts surrounding the images, the lemma or inscription and the subscription, were also formulated with deliberation and the de Brys successfully involved renowned humanists in the process.²⁰ With this translation and borrowing from the genre and prestige of emblem books, associated elements of cultural imagination, values and structure were brought to the texts – as it was impossible to simply borrow the form alone. Thus layers of meaning which were not inherent in the original texts were added. Images are opaque and ambiguous – the same pictures were used to illustrate highly divergent mottoes within the genre of emblem books. Also in the de Bry collection of voyages the images were reused, though not very often. After all, the books were purchased for or at least also for the brilliant engravings, so over-repetition might have led customers to refrain from re-buying them.

19 Susanna Burghartz, 'Mehrdeutigkeit und Superioritätsanspruch. Inszenierte Welten im kolonialen Diskurs um 1600', *zeitenblicke* 7/2, [01.10.2008], URL: http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2008/2/burghartz/index_html, URN: urn:nbn:de:0009-9-14827 (retrieved 14 May 2012).

20 Groesen, *Representations of the overseas world*, pp. 125–129.

Conclusions

The volumes of the *India Orientalis* series are situated at the intersection of European trade interests with Asia and a general public fascinated by accounts of the overseas world. The de Brys contributed with their publications to the development of a commonly shared horizon of orientalist knowledge or rather imagination – to draw on Said's concept of Orientalism. The series played an important role in the emergence of a European book market for orientalist knowledge penetrating regions far from the centres connected via trading or colonial ties to the East. "Imaginative geographies and history", Edward Said argued in his influential study, "help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatising the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away".²¹ Said, however, explicitly pushed German contributions to Orientalism to the background. With no colonies in the region and given that he himself was greatly indebted and emotionally attached to German scholars in his field of comparative literature, Central Europe seemed unaffected and distant. "The German orient was almost exclusively a scholarly, or at least a classical, Orient", Said stated.²² Said's characterisation of German armchair scholars engaged with the Orient from the late eighteenth century through the nineteenth century, aptly characterises also the public at which the de Bry series was aimed. The de Bry series was aimed at a public of, if not armchair scholars, then at least armchair connoisseurs. In 1620 Johann Theodor de Bry explicitly pointed to the benefit that could be gained from the travel accounts by those preferring to stay at home instead of putting themselves in danger by overseas travels.²³

The texts that the series assembled were transposed into a humanist language and the series provided an Orient intelligible to a European audience alone. The series' geographical reach was Europe-wide and thus wider than the linguistic choice of German and Latin suggests. The German language market was an important but not the only market of the series.

The discussion in Said's wake often invokes the dichotomy of guilt and innocence in relation to colonialism. With regard to the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* and *Occidentalis* this morally-charged level of the debate becomes futile. The series undoubtedly played an important role in the spread and contributed to the creation of what was to become a European horizon of oriental

21 Edward Said, *Orientalism*. Reprint with a new preface (London, Penguin, 2003), p. 55.

22 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 19.

23 Appendix Deß eilfften Theils Americae, Preface by Johann Theodor de Bry, p. 3. Quoted from Greve, *Die Konstruktion Amerikas*, pp. 230–231.

imagination that was indeed later used to justify the domination of peoples and places. These later developments are however quite separate from the intentions of the publishers. The de Brys' publication project transposed mundane travel writings into works of art and humanist scholarship; these they sold to an eager European public whom van Linschoten had addressed as *curieuse liefhebbers*, a lay public without immediate links to the East India trade though equipped with a keen interest in the overseas. The series thus played an important role in generating and transforming the new into the culturally knowledgeable. The very economic success of the *Historia Indiae Orientalis* turned the series' splendid volumes into powerful cultural representations which took on a history of their own.

The Unexpected Success of a Spanish Anatomy Book: Juan Valverde de Amusco's *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* (Rome, 1556), and its Many Later Editions

Bjørn Okholm Skaarup

Juan de Valverde y Amusco's *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* (Rome, 1556) represents an unusual early modern example of a specialised medical textbook, which failed to appeal to its originally intended readership, but instead reached a large audience in subsequent revised editions. Valverde's anatomy addressed a limited group of Spanish surgeons, and was produced by the expanding Spanish 'nation' residing in mid-sixteenth-century Rome. The patron of Valverde's publication was Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo, son of the second Duke of Alba, cardinal and general inquisitor of Rome, papal confessor of Pope Paul IV. Toledo was among the most prominent of the Spanish residents, who made up almost one third of the Eternal City's population during the second half of the sixteenth century.¹ Valverde's book was published by the recently merged Franco-Spanish publishing houses of Antonio Salamanca and Antonio Lafrery, and was illustrated by Caspar Becerra or Pedro de Rubiales, two Spanish painters, who were both active in Rome during the 1540s and 1550s, and who, like Valverde enjoyed the patronage of Toledo. The prints for the book were carried out by the French engraver Nicolas Beatrizet, whose initials are found in numerous other illustrated publications from Salamanca and Lafrery.

Valverde produced his anatomical textbook in the wake of the groundbreaking revisions in anatomical research, practice and representation spearheaded by Andreas Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* (Basle, 1543), later referred to as the 'Vesalian Revolution'. Several of Valverde's anatomical descriptions, and most of his illustrations were based on Vesalius's anatomy, but his book was also written in a particular and site-specific Spanish/Roman context. *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* was explicitly aimed at a reading audience of Spanish surgeons, whom the author claimed to be unfamiliar with Latin medical publications, and direct studies of human anatomy taught from

¹ Thomas J Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (Yale, Yale University Press, 2001), p. 9.

dissection. In the prologue and dedication to Cardinal Toledo, Valverde voiced his opinions about the exceedingly low level of medical practice in his native Spain, bemoaning:

the great lack of men of this nation who understand anatomy, partly because it is considered an ugly thing among Spaniards to dissect bodies, and partly because only a few of them have gone to Italy where they could have learned it.²

Valverde's *Historia* referred not only to a deep-rooted discomfort among his fellow Spaniards in dealing with the “ugly” hands-on study of human anatomy, but also a widespread inability among Spanish surgeons to read and write in Latin, the scientific *lingua franca* of the era. Communicating in the Spanish vernacular, the author intended to lead the Spaniards out of their ignorance of new anatomical practices and discoveries from the most prominent medical centres of late Renaissance Italy. Valverde criticised Vesalius, whose lack of pedagogical skills had failed to alleviate this ignorance, grounded in the rugged style and inaccessibility of *Fabrica* for non-Latinist readers, and warned his fellow Spaniards of:

the damage, which this causes to the entire Spanish nation, partly because the surgeons (who miss the most by not understanding it) know only a little Latin, and partly because Vesalius has written in such a complicated style.³

Vesalius who spent his last five years at the Spanish court of Philip II did not credit Valverde's anatomical textbook with any new insights or discoveries, but instead condemned it as a disgraceful copy of his own *Fabrica*:

Valverde, who never put his hand to a dissection and is ignorant of medicine as well as of the primary disciplines, undertook to expound our art in the Spanish language only for the sake of shameful profit.⁴

2 Juan de Valverde y Amusco, *Historia de la Composicion del Corpo Humano* (Rome, Salamanca and Lafrery, 1556), Al Illustriss. y Reverendiss. S. Don Fray Ioan de Toledo Cardenal, y Arzobispo de Santiago, el Dotor Ioan de Valverde su Medico, n.p.

3 Valverde, *Historia*, *ibid.*, f.3v.

4 Charles D. O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964), p. 292.

Valverde's textbook on the other hand included an index with corrections of Vesalius, who was nonetheless praised for having raised the study of anatomy from its long stagnation since classical antiquity: "I think it is true that God inspired him to resurrect this forgotten and necessary branch of medicine".⁵

Compared to Vesalius's *magnum opus* in deluxe folio binding, Juan Valverde's *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano* was a less original and ambitious enterprise. It was reduced to quarto format, and most of its images were copies of Vesalius's woodcut illustrations, which were reworked on copper, and supplemented by only a few new illustrations. The book was the result of the collaborative efforts of a community of Spaniards living and working in Rome under the patronage of Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo. Valverde presented himself as "su medico" in his dedication, and worked as Toledo's physician from 1555. This employment lasted until the death in 1557 of this invaluable patron and Maecenas, whose coat of arms dominated the entire title page of *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano* (Fig. 6.1). Valverde's introduction was dedicated to the cardinal, whose aid in the production of an anatomical textbook could seem somewhat remote from his formal clerical profession. Such alliances with already established or expected benefactors were nonetheless commonplace in the publication of sixteenth-century anatomy books, as seen in Vesalius's joint support and privileges from both Emperor Charles V and the Senate of Venice. The book also served as a promotion of the Spanish community of the papal city during a time when the relationship between the papacy and the Spanish monarch was troubled and often openly hostile. In a broader cultural/political context, the 1556 printing of Valverde's *Historia* coincided with the preparations of a Spanish invasion of Rome during the 'Caraffa War', 1555–1557. This brief struggle between the Caraffa pope Paul IV and Philip II was the closest the papal city ever came to a repetition of the Sack of Rome three decades earlier – and was prevented only by Paul IV's final submission to the troops of the young Spanish monarch.

Valverde's *Historia* was not the first Spanish textbook on anatomy which made use of Vesalius's illustrations. Already Bernardino Montaña de Montserrat's *Libro de la anothomia* (Valladolid, 1551) included a series of crudely executed, uncommented and unacknowledged woodcut images from *De humani corporis fabrica*. Valverde's *Historia*, however, was a deliberate revision and condensed version of Vesalius's original work, aimed at Spanish surgeons unfamiliar with Latin and humanist learning. Commenting on his illustrations, Valverde reflected on the visual impact of *Fabrica*, which had proven so

5 Valverde, *Historia*, f. ii4.



FIGURE 6.1 Title page of *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano escrita por Ioan Valverde de Hamusco* (Lafreij and Salamanca, Rome, 1556)

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successful that alternative anatomical representations could no longer be conceived of:

Even though it seemed to some of my friends that I should have made new illustrations, without using those of Vesalius, I decided not to do so, in order to avoid the confusion that could follow from this; from those who do not know where I agree or disagree with him, and because his figures are so well executed that it would seem envious and malignant not to wish to make use of them.⁶

Valverde's choice to reuse the Vesalian plates would in his view enable the readers to understand the exact differences between his own and Vesalius's observations. Valverde's Spanish anatomy was published by the recently merged Franco-Spanish publishing houses of Antonio Salamanca and Antonio Lafreya, and was illustrated by either Caspar Becerra or Pedro de Rubiales, two Spanish painters who were active in Rome during the 1540s and 1550s under the patronage of the Spanish Cardinal, Juan Alvarez de Toledo. The prints for the book were produced by the French engraver Nicolas Beatrizet, whose initials can be found in numerous illustrated publications by Salamanca and Lafreya. Rubiales and Becerra worked as assistants to Giorgio Vasari, and Becerra also collaborated with Daniele da Volterra on the frescoes of the Roman Palazzo della Cancelleria and the church of Trinità dei Monti.⁷ Their Italian masters belonged to Michelangelo's innermost circle of friends and apprentices, and the two Spaniards were both followers and admirers of the ageing yet unchallenged artistic authority of mid-sixteenth-century Rome. Juan Valverde's master Realdo Colombo afforded him a further connection to Michelangelo. Colombo enjoyed close links to the mature artist, having served as his personal physician for almost a decade by the time of Valverde's publication, and from then until Colombo's death in 1559. Before Valverde's 1555 employment as Cardinal Toledo's personal physician, he worked as an assistant to Colombo, who succeeded Vesalius as Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the University of Padua in 1543. Valverde also followed Colombo to his new appointments at the Universities of Pisa and Rome in 1546 and 1548 respectively. According to Ascanio Condivi's contemporary biography, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti* (Rome, 1553), Colombo provided Michelangelo with bodies for dissection and both men agreed to jointly author a work on anatomy in the late 1540s. This planned collaboration was confirmed by a leave of

6 Valverde, *Historia*, Al letor, n.p.

7 Albert Frederick Calvert, *Sculpture in Spain* (London, John Lane, 1912), p. 98.

absence from 1547, when Duke Cosimo I granted Colombo permission to leave his professorship at the University of Pisa in order to execute this – unfortunately unrealised – project with “il primo pittor del mondo”.⁸ If the planned work had been carried out, it would arguably have challenged the iconic status of the *Fabrica* produced by Vesalius and Titian’s workshop, and may have confirmed Michelangelo’s prejudice against the Venetian painters’ lack of “disegno” compared to Florentine masters like himself.⁹ The only illustration in Realdo Colombo’s work appeared on the title page, on which the author was depicted dissecting a male cadaver while a small *putto* offered drawing tools to Michelangelo, who was prominently placed among the spectators in the foreground. Valverde’s textbook was in many ways a poor substitute for the unfulfilled collaboration between Colombo and Michelangelo – which was eventually executed by their less renowned apprentices and admirers. While the text included numerous original observations and corrections of human anatomy, the images lacked the originality and the complex iconographical programme of Vesalius’s *Fabrica*. Two thirds of Valverde’s images were directly copied or compiled from Vesalius’s *Fabrica* and were reversed in the process of recreating the original woodcut illustrations on new copperplates. Valverde’s choice to reuse the Vesalian plates would, in his view, enable the readers to understand the exact differences between the two authors’ observations.

In Book One, which was dedicated to the bones of the human body, Valverde emphasised that his illustrations were not mere replicas of the Vesalian images, but significant improvements on the originals, as described in an explanatory text next to his modified Vesalian image of a meditating skeleton in lateral view: “I want to make known to the reader that the first figure is different from that of Vesalius, because his was not very well done, as anyone can see”.¹⁰ It is questionable, however, whether his illustrations were significant improvements on Vesalius’s anatomical representations; many of Valverde’s revisions of the Vesalian images were distorted and less elegantly executed, and some of his corrections were plainly wrong, as seen in his disproportionate visual enlargement of the human sternum. Still, Valverde’s book included significant innovations, such as the most detailed description of the time of “the smaller

8 J.B. Schultz, *Art and anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 102.

9 Giorgio Vasari, *The lives of the great artists* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 501.

10 Valverde, *Historia*, Tab. Segunda del lib. Primero, Fig. II.

circulation”, which abandoned the Galenic notion that blood circulated through invisible pores in the septum between the two heart ventricles. Valverde’s anatomy included numerous innovative descriptions of the abdominal and facial muscles, and a correction of Vesalius’s inaccurate placement of the cristalline lens in the centre of the eye.¹¹

While Valverde often praised Vesalius, he was also critical, and even chastised Vesalius for his inability to distinguish between human and animal anatomy – an accusation which was remarkably reminiscent of Vesalius’s own claims of Galen’s misconceptions based on animal dissection:

This figure is different from Vesalius’s because this one shows only the muscles as they appear in humans, and in his some are shown, which exist only in monkeys and other brute animals.¹²

Valverde justified his choice to reproduce the Vesalian images by claiming that his readers could more easily follow his visual corrections if he remained faithful to the existing iconography. His *Historia* was in fact so loyal to the Vesalian matrix that only one third of its illustrations were original. Of the 42 images in *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano*, 27 were copied directly – and according to the author improved significantly – from *Fabrica*, while only 15 new illustrations were created for his anatomical textbook. Among the new illustrations was the famous “Valverdean musclemán”, which has since become an icon of anatomical illustration – often juxtaposed with the most celebrated images of Vesalius. It represented a flayed man carrying his own skin in one arm, and a dagger in the other. This was arguably a depiction of Marsyas, the ill-fated satyr from Greek mythology who was flayed alive by Apollo; or alternatively a portrayal of Saint Bartholomew, the Christian martyr who suffered a similar fate in the hands of his captors, and who was also depicted grasping a knife. This second suggestion links Valverde’s musclemán to the representation of Saint Bartholomew in Michelangelo’s *Last Judgement* fresco, which had been finished a decade earlier. Valverde took great pride in this new image and emphasised its originality:

It shows a man who has been flayed of his skin and fat, and all the veins that run between the skin and the flesh, and all the blood vessels, except for the muscular parts. And it should be noted that it is different from

¹¹ Ibid., Libro segundo. Tab. segunda.

¹² Ibid., Libro segundo. Tab. quarta.

that of Vesalius, because in this figure the shadows show the lines and structures of the flesh as they appear in every muscle.¹³

The first attributions of the Valverdean illustrations to the Spanish painter Caspar Becerra appeared in Spanish art treatises in the mid-seventeenth century, such as Vicente Carducho's *Dialogos de la pintura* (1633) and Francisco Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas* (1649). Both authors agreed that Becerra was the illustrator of *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano*, but Valverde instead credited the artistic – as well as anatomical – skills of the painter Pedro Rubiales, who was even praised in the same sentence as the mighty Michelangelo:

In our times Michelangelo of Florence and Pedro Rubiales of Extremadura have united anatomy together with painting, and they have therefore become the most excellent and famous painters of all times.¹⁴

The Spanish medical historian Juan Riera has used this and other circumstantial evidence to attribute the illustrations in Valverde's book to Rubiales.¹⁵ Becerra, however, has been repeatedly credited as the artist responsible for the same illustrations since Carducho's short and somewhat flawed account in his 1633 *Dialogos de la pintura*:

The anatomical drawings of the French author Vesalius, were carried out excellently by the French artist Juan Calcar, and those of Valverde the Spaniard by the famous Becerra, and both followed Vesalius in one way or another.¹⁶

Francisco Pacheco's subsequent *Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas* made multiple similar references to Valverde's anatomy and its illustrations by Caspar Becerra, who was described as, "Our brave Spaniard who brilliantly demonstrated what he knew about the muscles (an as imitator of Michelangelo) in Valverde's book of anatomy".¹⁷ Jusepe Martínez's unpublished art treatise

13 Ibid., Libro segundo. Tab. primera.

14 Ibid., Libro segundo. Tab, tercera.

15 Juan Riera, *Valverde y la anatomía del renacimiento* (Valladolid, Ediciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1981), p. 18.

16 Vicente Carducho, *Dialogos de la pintura* (Madrid, Fr. Martinez, 1633), f. I.

17 Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas* (Seville, Simon Faxardo, 1649), p. 276.

Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura (1672) also praised the “anatomical drawings of our great Becerra”.¹⁸ Enthusiastic references to Becerra as the artist appeared well into the eighteenth century; Becerra’s anatomical skills were described in detail in Palomino de Castro y Velasco’s art treatise *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (1715–24):

Our Becerra was a truly great anatomist, and today some of his anatomies remain (...) and I own them, together with a leg from an anatomical study of baked clay, which is the left, an original of his, about half the natural size, which everyone admires; in my time it has prevented the amputation of some legs, enlightening the surgeons, who examined its organisation of the muscles, tendons and nerves.¹⁹

The authorship of these illustrations is still disputed in spite of these later claims. Recent stylistic investigation suggests that Becerra may have produced some of the high-quality imagery, such as the flayed Saint Bartholomew and the elegant title page of the original Spanish edition (where the architectural background is somewhat similar to a surviving drawing by Becerra kept at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid), while the Vesalian copies were probably carried out by a lesser artist.²⁰ We can be sure that the engraver was Nicolas Beatrizet, whose identity is confirmed by his initials on some of the illustrations of this first Spanish-language book on science and medicine to be illustrated with copperplate engravings.²¹ This reproduction technique was not used in an Iberian book publication until almost 30 years later in Juan de Herrera’s *Sumario y breve declaración de los diseños y estampas de la fábrica de San Lorenzo del Escorial* (Madrid, 1589), which was illustrated with coppers by the Flemish engraver Pieter Perret, who is credited with the introduction of the technique in Spain.²²

While the complex classical references in Vesalius’s original work were downplayed in Valverde’s textbook, the iconography of the latter work’s few

18 Jusepe Martínez, *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* (Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando, 1866), p. 12.

19 Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (Madrid, Juan Bernabé, 1795), p. 173.

20 Diego Suárez Quevedo, ‘Arte-ciencia (anatomía) en el Renacimiento español. La obra de Juan Valverde de Amusco y su clasicismo’, in *Actas del X Congreso del CEHA. Los Clasicismos en el Arte Español* (Madrid, Departamento de historia del arte de la UNED, 1994), p. 479.

21 Pilar Rodríguez Marín, ‘Juan Valverde de Amusco’ in *Facultad de medicina de Valladolid. VI Centenario* (Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2006), p. 83.

22 José María López Piñero, *El grabado en la ciencia hispánica* (Valencia, CSIC, 1987), p. 34.

original illustrations also referred to classical antiquity, and in particular to antique Roman sculptures. Some of these, such as the Belvedere Torso (already used in Vesalius's illustrations) and the Standing or Pudic Venus were shown in different stages of dissection, in the latter case representing the uterus and the placenta. The inclusion of these (and arguably other iconic statues from the Vatican collection, such as Laocoön and Apollo Belvedere)²³ may have served as references to the patronage of Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo. Other allusions to Roman sculptures in Valverde's "intestinal cuirasses" were inspired by the trophies of Marius on the Esquiline, and were reminiscent of images in Antonio Salamanca and Nicolas Beatrizet's earlier illustrated books on Roman antiquity. In another publication, Valverde's Spanish publisher referred to himself as *Antonius Salamanca, Orbis et Urbis Antiquitatum imitator*.²⁴

The author, patron, illustrator(s) and printer of Valverde's anatomy were of Spanish origin, and in spite of its specific Roman context, Valverde's work maintained some Spanish characteristics even in its later impressions and translations. Like Valverde's original 1556 Spanish edition, the 1559 *Anatomia del corpo umano* was printed by Salamanca and Lafrery, and was also dedicated to a Spanish patron, not to Juan Alvarez de Toledo, who had recently died in 1557, but to the Spanish monarch Philip II. The timing of Valverde's appeal to the mighty sovereign was hardly coincidental. In a royal provision from 1559, Philip II recalled all Spanish students and scholars studying and working outside Spain, with an announcement which has since been seen as an ominous event in the cultural and intellectual history of late Renaissance Spain:

No one can leave these kingdoms to study, teach, learn or reside at universities, schools or colleges outside these realms, and those who have gone to stay and reside at these universities, schools and colleges are required to leave within a period of four months after the announcement of this provision.²⁵

In the dedication of Valverde's 1559 edition of *Anatomia del corpo umano* the author tried to avoid being relocated and so emphasised his own natural affiliation with the Italian peninsula and cleverly highlighted the Prudent King's

23 Rose Maria San Juan, 'Restoration and translation in Juan de Valverde's *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano*', in Rebecca Zorach (ed.), *The virtual tourist in Renaissance Rome* (Chicago, University of Chicago, 2008), pp. 57–60.

24 Andrea Carlino, 'Tre piste per la anatomia di Juan di Valverde', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 114 (2002), p. 529.

25 José Maria Lopez Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, pp. 142–143.

status not only as Spanish monarch, but also as “patron and protector of all Italy”.²⁶

Apart from his attempt to escape the restrictions imposed by the royal decree, the most remarkable information in the revised Italian edition of Valverde's anatomy was his disclosure of the unexpectedly negative consequences of having copied the Vesalian illustrations in his own work. This decision had led to the misconception among non-Spaniards that his work was a mere Spanish translation of Vesalius's *Fabrica*: “Many of those who did not understand the Spanish language, and who saw that my illustrations were not very different from his began to claim that I had just translated the work of Vesalius”.²⁷ Valverde wished to prove the inaccuracy of these accusations with the translation of his work into Italian, thereby vindicating his status as an original author and researcher. Yet he also admitted that the new Italian edition was produced in order to make further use of his engraved copperplates, as indicated in both the subtitle and the introduction of his *Anatomia del corpo umano composto per M. Giovan Valverde da Hamusco & da luy con molte figure di rame ed eruditi discorsi in luce mandata*:

To satisfy the wishes of many of my Italian gentlemen friends (who on seeing that my work was much shorter than that of Vesalius, and understanding that it was in many ways different from his; and seeing also that some of my illustrations were more graceful and adept than his, wanted to see the book written in their own language), and being in possession of these engraved copperplates, I wanted to translate it into Italian.²⁸

That decision seems somewhat contradictory, given that in his dedication to Philip II Valverde had lamented the fact that the same illustrations had led to confusion and accusations of plagiarism.

The revised work was given a new title page that depicted a marble niche flanked by two standing skeletons and a pig and a monkey holding a human femur (Fig. 6.2). This was a clear reference to the new discoveries made by anatomical reformers such as Vesalius, Colombo and Valverde, who had found numerous errors in Galen's anatomy and many obvious cases of discrepancy between human and animal anatomy. At the bottom of this title page were three small images of anatomical practice, representations which have been

26 Giouanni Valverde, *Anatomia del corpo umano*, Alla S.C.R. Maesta el Re Filippo, n.p.

27 Ibid., n.p.

28 Ibid., n.p.



FIGURE 6.2 *Title page of Anatomia del corpo humano composta per M. Giouan Valverde (Lafrery and Salamanca, Rome, 1559)*

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analysed in Andrea Carlino's *Books of the Body*.²⁹ These small vignettes depicted both public dissections for the benefit of a large university audience, and more intimate anatomy studies performed for a few select pupils, indicating the dual nature of this practice. Outside medical circles Valverde's Italian anatomy found a broad audience among contemporary artists and scientists, such as Egnazio and Vincenzo Danti, whose treatises on anatomy, optics and perspective praised Valverde's correction of Vesalius's erroneous placement of the crystalline lens in the centre of the human eye.³⁰ Other Florentine artists and members of Florence's recently founded *Accademia del Disegno* (1563), such as Alessandro Allori and Ludovico Cigoli, frequently referred to Valverde's anatomy in their own written treatises, such as Allori's *Delle regole del disegno* (Florence, 1565), and in numerous sketches and artworks. The *Nuttumia di Valverde* was also found in the 1608 book inventory of the *Accademia di San Luca* – the first Roman art academy, which was founded in 1593.³¹

After the publication of the first editions of Valverde's book in Spanish (Rome, 1556) and Italian (Rome, 1559 and 1560), the work appeared again in 1566 in a revised Latin edition entitled *Vivae imagines partium corporis humanae aereis formis expressae* (Fig. 6.3). This Latin edition was published by Plantin in Antwerp and was soon followed in 1568 by a Dutch version, *Anatomie, oft levende beelden vande deelen des menschelicken lichaems*. While the facts of the artistic collaborations behind the illustrations of the original Roman Salamanca/Lafrery editions of Valverde's anatomy remain fogged by uncertainty, the reworking of these images for the Plantin editions is documented in remarkable detail. The surviving account books of the Antwerp publishing house reveal that the production and printing costs of the copperplate illustrations for Valverde's book represented a significant investment amounting to 606 florins – more than six times the total cost of the paper used for the first 600 copies of *Vivae imagines*.³² These expenses help to explain why fully illustrated books on anatomy were still relatively rare by the mid-sixteenth century, and why Valverde was so eager to reuse the copperplate illustrations made for his 1556 *Historia* in later editions – even though these images had led to accusations of plagiarism. The Plantin accounts show

29 Andrea Carlino, *Books of the body* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 54–56.

30 Egnazio Danti, *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica...* (Bologna, Francesco Zannetti, 1583), p. 3.

31 Archivio di Stato di Roma, TNC, uff. II, 1608, pt I, vol. 76, f. 818.

32 Sachiko Kusokawa, *Picturing the book of nature. Image, text, and argument in sixteenth-century human anatomy and medical botany* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 53.

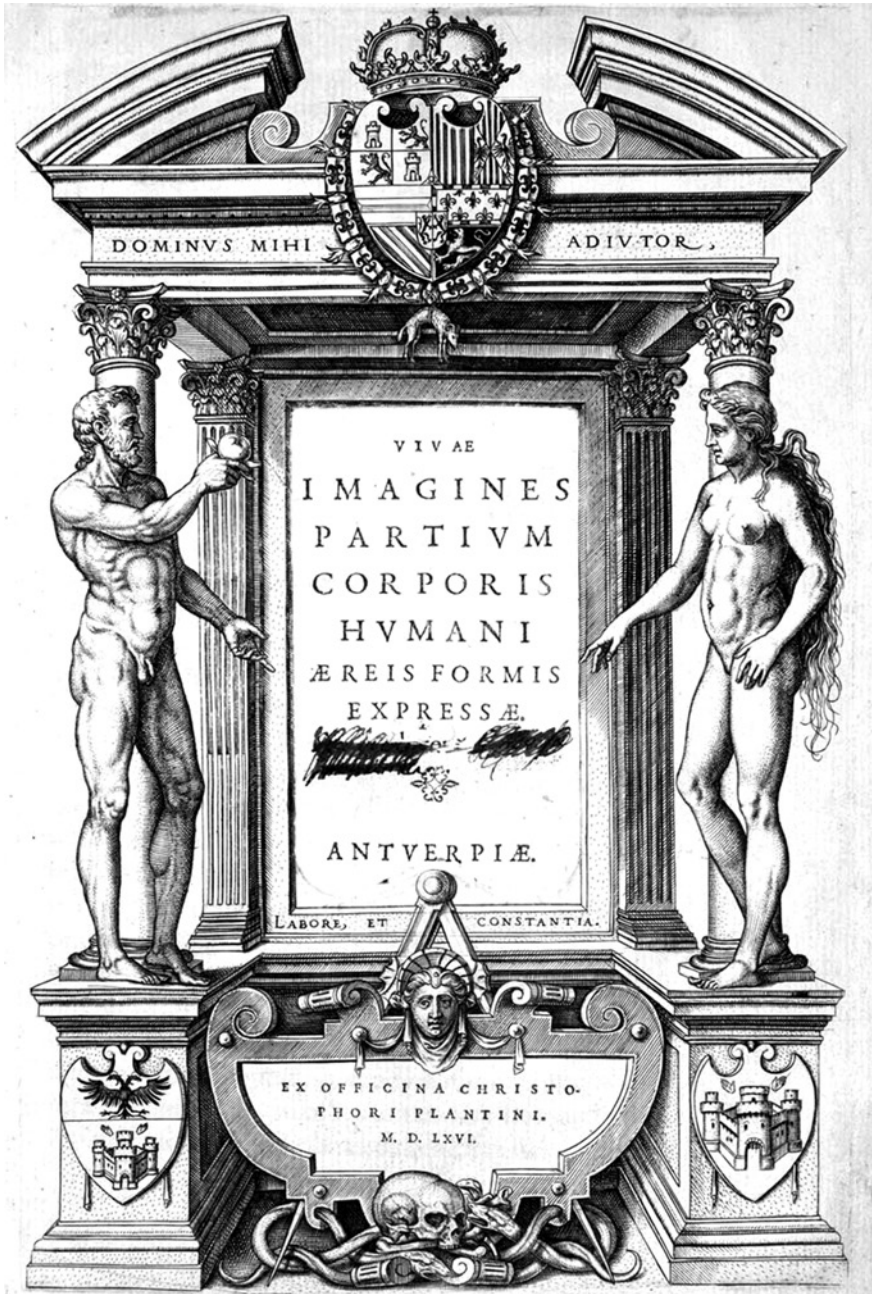


FIGURE 6.3 *Title page of Vivae imagines partium corporis humanae aereis formis expressae (Antwerp, 1566)*

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some of the economic risks involved in contemporary book production; in Sachiko Kusokawa's estimate, an illustrated quarto book was seven times as expensive as an unillustrated octavo book from the same publishing house.³³ As indicated in the book title, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humanae aereis formis expressae*, the attraction of Valverde's anatomy lay as much in its images as in its text, which was drastically reduced in the Plantin editions and supplemented with the full text and fugitive sheets or 'flap-books' of Vesalius's *Epitome* (Basle, 1543).

The 42 illustrations included in the Plantin editions of Valverde's book were executed more poorly even than the 1556 images and were often reversed again in the process of copying Valverde's Vesalian copies. These images for the Plantin editions were reworked on new copperplates which were drawn and engraved by the Flemish artist brothers Pieter and Franz Huys. The new title page was designed by Lambert van Noort. All artists involved were members of the Antwerp painters' guild of Saint Luke and were frequently employed in the production of illustrated publications by the Plantin publishing house. Van Noort's title page reused the architectural background from Salamanca/Lafrery's 1559 Italian edition, but in a significantly moderated form. The two human skeletons in the original were replaced by the figures of Adam and Eve, and the femur-carrying pig and monkey above the porch were supplanted by the Habsburg insignia of Philip II, and the Most Catholic King's motto 'Dominus mihi adiutor' ('The Lord is my helper').³⁴ The same title page was used for the 1568 Dutch edition of Valverde's anatomy, and appeared again two centuries later in an extraordinary and unexpected context: it formed the cover for the first modern Japanese textbook on anatomy, Sugita Genpaku's *Kaitai Shinsho* (New Text on Anatomy), which was published by Suharaya Ichibee (Tokyo, 1774). While the text of *Kaitai Shinsho* was based on works by later seventeenth-century Dutch, German and Danish anatomists, the double-headed eagle and the golden fleece of Imperial Habsburg Spain from the Plantin edition was retained on the title page of this unprecedented Edo period publication (Fig. 6.4).

Italian and Latin versions of Valverde's anatomy were published by Giunti in Venice in 1586 and 1589, using new copperplates and with added illustrations. The author's death occurred at some point between these two publications. The latter publication, *Anatome corporis humani (...) nunc primum a Michaelae*

33 Ibid., p. 54.

34 The 1566 Plantin edition of Valverde's anatomy occasionally included anatomical broadsides or 'flap-books' bound at the end, as seen in a copy from the Wellcome Library rare books collection (EPB 7341). These fugitive sheets reveal the internal organs of the male and female body and were inspired by the cut-outs made for Vesalius's *Epitome*.

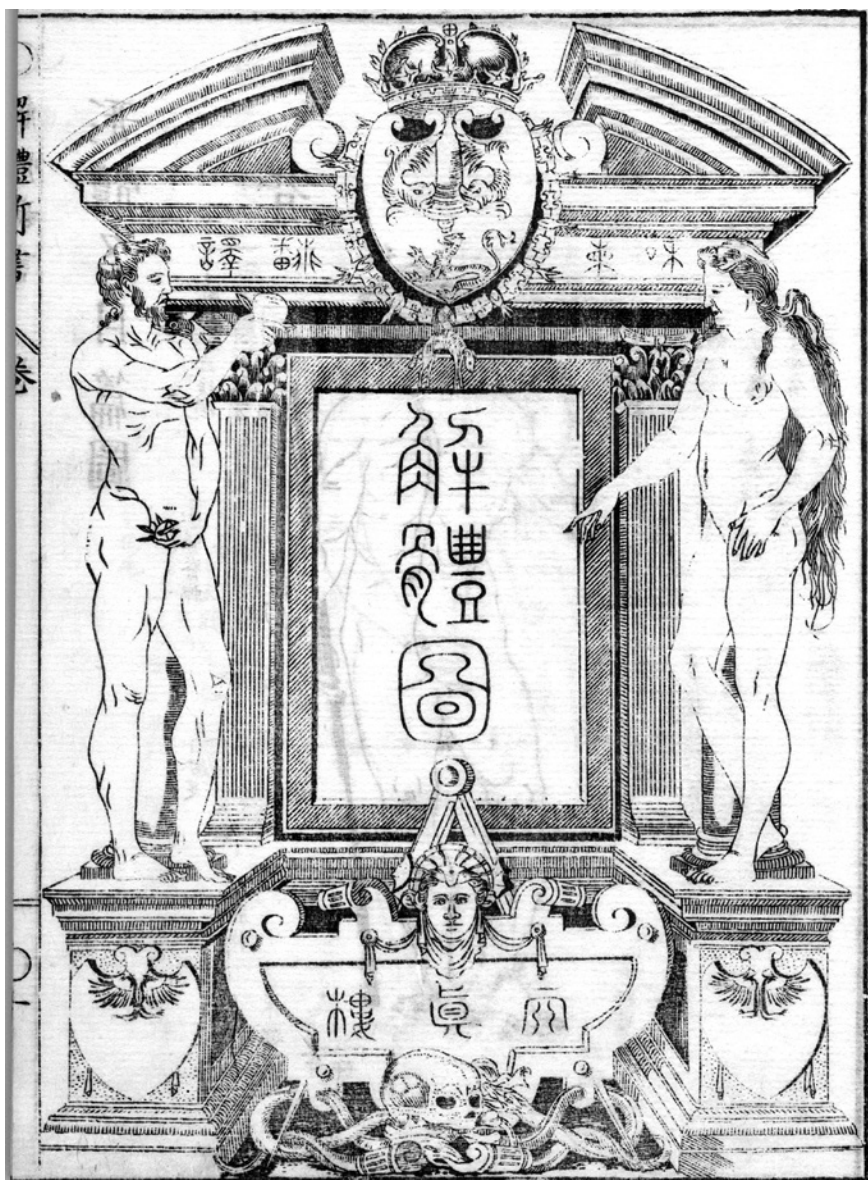


FIGURE 6.4 Title page of Sugita Genpaku, *Kaitai Shinsho* (Suharaya Ichibee, Tokyo, 1774)
 COURTESY OF THE C.V. STARR EAST ASIAN LIBRARY, COLUMBIA
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Colombo latine reddita, was revised by Michele Colombo, son of Realdo, and showed the remarkable continuity of Valverde's Roman network, some 30 years after the death of Realdo Colombo in 1559. The continued association of the creators of the original 1556 edition of Valverde's anatomy was also evident in the 1586 Italian edition, which included the only contemporary portrait of Valverde. This portrait was inscribed with the name of the author, "Ioannes Valverdu Hispanus", and was signed by Nicolas Beatrizet who had also produced the original engraved illustrations for Valverde's first Spanish and Italian editions three decades earlier. Several Valverdean images appeared in new anatomical textbooks throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including André du Laurens's *Historia anatomica humani corporis* (Paris, 1600), Caspar Bauhin's *Theatrum anatomicum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1605) and the first German anatomy to be written in the vernacular, Johann Andreas Schenck's *Anatomia, Das ist: Sjnne reiche, Künstliche, Gegründte Aufschneidung, Theilung, und Zerlegung eines vollkommenen Menschlichen Leibs und Cörpers erkläret* (Frankfurt am Main, 1609). The increasing amalgamation of the Vesalian and Valverdean images can be seen in a 1617 Dutch edition of Vesalius, whose title page was not taken from *Fabrica* but from the first 1559 Italian edition of Valverde's anatomy textbook.³⁵ Valverde and Vesalius were even depicted side by side on the title page of a contemporary Venetian edition of Vesalius's anatomy, entitled *Andreae Vesalii Anatomia* (Venice, 1604) (Fig. 6.5). Another Venetian edition of Valverde's *Anatomia del corpo humano*, which was published in 1606, eventually reached Ottoman Greece where it circulated as the first modern Greek text on anatomy in a manuscript translation carried out in 1738 by L. Patousas and the priest-monk superior Demoscenes Petrakes. This *Anatomia of the Human Body by Joannes Valverde* included all the text from the 1606 Venetian edition translated into vernacular Greek on 396 folios, which even left room for inserting the (unfortunately unrealised) copies of Valverde's images.³⁶ A few years earlier, a shortened French version of Valverde's anatomy had been published, including only the illustrations and their explanatory texts. It was intended for use by both physicians and artists, and was published under the title *L'anatomie universelle de toutes les parties du corps humain, Représentée en Figures, & exactement expliquée, Ouvrage curieux, &*

35 Andreas Vesalius, *Anatomia viri in hoc genere Princip Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis; in qua tota humani corporis fabrica, iconibus elegantissimi iuxta genuinam Auctoris delineatio...* (Amsterdam, Ioannes Ianssonius, 1617).

36 Pan S. Codellas, 'Vesalius-Valverde-Patousas. The unpublished manuscript of the first modern anatomy in the Greek language', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 14 (1943).

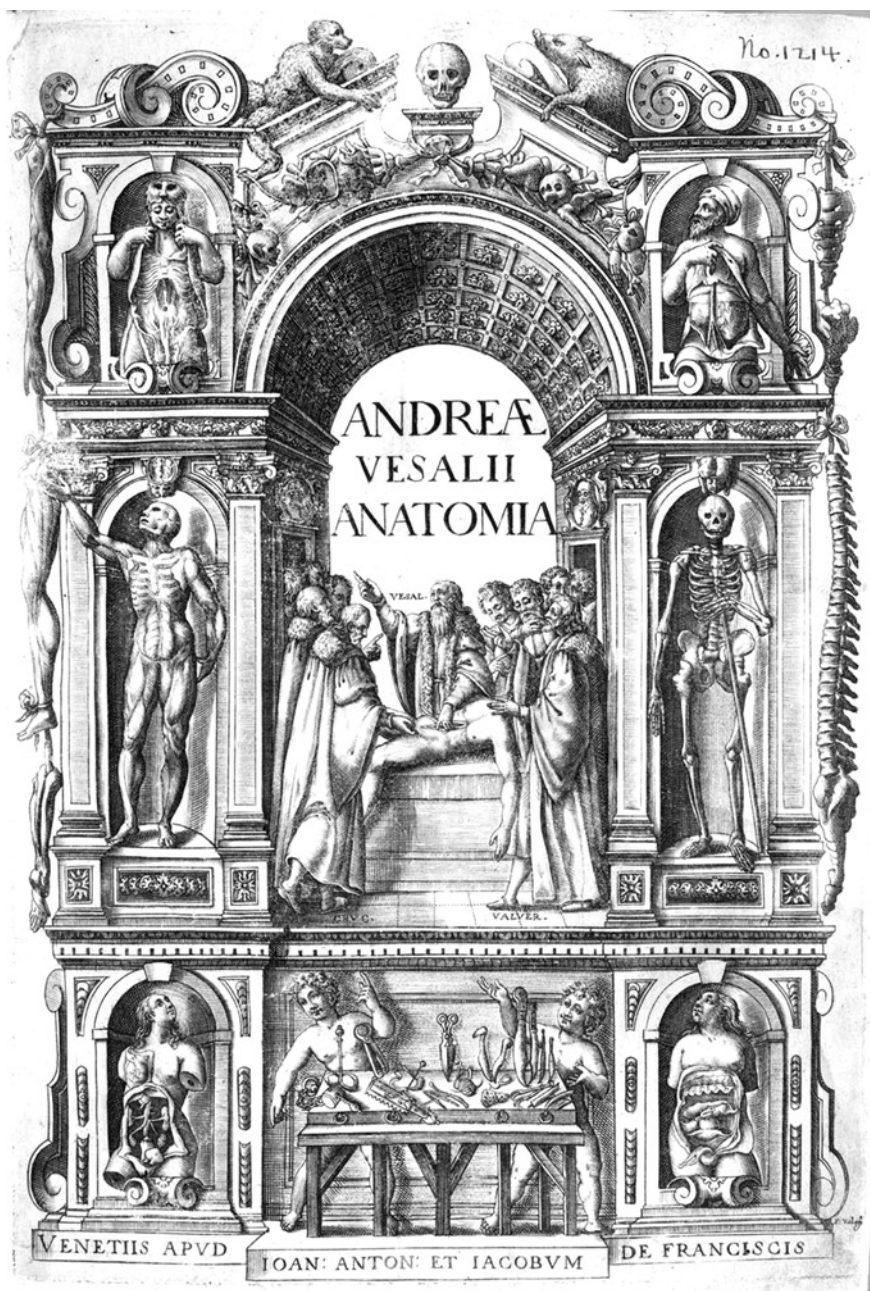


FIGURE 6.5 *Title page of Andreae Vesalii anatomia (Joan. Anton. et Jacobum de Franciscis, Venice, 1604)*

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utile aux Etudians en Medicine, Chirurgie, Sages-Femmes, & aux Peintres & Sculpteurs (Paris, 1730).³⁷

Valverde's anatomical textbook was originally produced by Spanish residents in mid-sixteenth-century Rome, and intended for a limited audience of Spanish surgeons. It has been shown, however, that the book appealed to a much larger readership than expected. We may note that only one impression was made of Valverde's original Spanish anatomy from 1556, while the Italian version from 1559 was re-printed the very next year, implying a demand similar to that for both the Plantin and Giunti editions which were reproduced in numerous new editions during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While Valverde's *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* in many ways failed in its original purpose, it instead succeeded as a smaller, cheaper and handier textbook on anatomy than Vesalius's *magnum opus*. Valverde's anatomy would reappear in translations and copies throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in leading medical and printing centres of early modern Europe – and occasionally far beyond.

37 *L'anatomie universelle de toutes les parties du corps humain, Représentée en Figures, & exactement expliquée, Ouvrage curieux, & utile aux Etudians en Medicine, Chirurgie, Sages-Femmes, & aux Peintres & Sculpteurs* (Paris, F. Gerard Jollain, 1730).

PART 2

*Demand and Supply: The Satisfaction of
Existing Appetites*



Poetic Gymnasium and Bibliographical Maze: Publishing Petrarch in Renaissance Venice

Neil Harris

We define a subculture of consumption as a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand, or consumption activity. Other characteristics of a subculture of consumption include an identifiable, hierarchical social structure; a unique ethos, or set of shared beliefs and values; and unique jargons, rituals, and modes of symbolic expression.¹

Specialist markets are created and evolve according to specialist needs, at least in theory. But specialist needs can be surprising and even unpredictable, especially if a producer latches onto a key fact ignored or scorned by others. One curious episode of modern consumer culture is described in the film *Kinky Boots* (2005), a feel-good Britcom on the *Full Monty* template, albeit based on a true story, involving an ailing Northampton quality men's shoe factory, on the brink of bankruptcy as its traditional market is flooded with cheap products from abroad. The business reacts, discovering new opportunities, financial solvency and a cinematographic happy ending, by making brightly-coloured, knee-length boots – hence the title – for male transvestites. The vital perception involves the weight of the customer: the women's boot market caters for users (mostly) in the 40–60 kilo range; men on the other hand, even cross dressed and ferociously dieted, weigh on average some 20 kilos more and thus, if they doss female boots, the heels all too frequently snap. The solution: stronger boots, for a specific group of users, defined by social embarrassment and cultural ostracism, but with a precise need, a willingness to be loyal to a brand and a desire to spend.

Over the last three decades, what academic economists and market researchers have baptised 'Consumer Culture Theory' has sought to delineate customer behaviour in social rather than purely economic terms, referring to "a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships

¹ John W. Schouten & James H. McAlexander, 'Subcultures of consumption. An ethnography of the new bikers', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22 (1995), pp. 43–61: p. 43.

between consumer actions, the market place, and cultural meanings”.² One of the best-known studies in the field charts the “subculture of consumption” constituted by “the ‘new bikers’, operationalised as owners of Harley-Davidson motorcycles who do not belong to known outlaw organizations”.³ What emerges is a hard core of committed bikers, around whom revolve concentric rings of more occasional users, who nevertheless share a passion for the brand, the refusal of cheaper Japanese products, the leathers and an aspiration to hedonistic, if occasional, liberty. Numerically these part-time users are by far the majority and are therefore important to maintain the economic viability of Harley-Davidson, since the said motorcycles are notoriously expensive; at the same time almost all the users outside the hard core construct for themselves an alternative, mostly weekend, identity, in which they find a personal freedom. What the study also shows is a producer of motorcycles playing on its own mystique in order to survive in an economic environment that would otherwise be impossibly hostile.

To my knowledge, Consumer Culture Theory has not been applied to the book industry, apart from comics, and it has certainly not been applied to an interpretation of Renaissance publishing, not only on account of the practical impossibility of conducting field research, but also due to our fragmentary knowledge of the same. Nevertheless some insights from modern studies of consumer culture can prove helpful when applied to the birth and growth of the printing and publishing industry. As the first genuine mass-distributed product in human history, the printed book was swift to define both general and specialist markets. For any and every publisher, the initial investment in paper, ink and work, had to be recouped by selling a certain percentage of the print-run to as yet unidentified customers, who had to be convinced to buy the book. (Such, at least, is the broad theory, but it should be added that Renaissance publishers soon discovered an alternative and less risky mechanism, in which the author, or someone on the author’s behalf, advanced the monies to cover the printing costs).⁴ If we look, in the context of the Renaissance book

2 Eric J. Arnould & Craig J. Thompson, ‘Consumer Culture Theory (CCT). Twenty years of research’, *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (2005), pp. 868–882: p. 868.

3 Schouten-McAlexander, ‘Subcultures of consumption’, pp. 43–44.

4 Gustavo Bertoli, ‘Autori ed editori a Firenze nella seconda metà del Sedicesimo secolo: il “caso” Marescotti’, *Annali di storia di Firenze*, 2 (2007), pp. 77–114, makes known the documents relating to a court case, in which in 1587 the publisher Giorgio Marescotti declares that it was common practice, even with well-established authors, to make them pay a part of the printing costs and with lesser known figures the entirety. That academic publishing lives mostly by ‘subsidies’ is a phenomenon all too familiar today, but it is intriguing to find the system solidly established so early in the history of the book trade.

industry, at what constitutes a specialist market, from the point of view of the producer, three general principles are apparent, as follows:

- 1) *It is a specific product aimed at a specific group of core purchasers, who invest in the same, because they recognise it as explicitly tailored for their needs.* It is probable that this group is better off than the population at large and thus compensates restricted numbers with an increased buying power. In a Renaissance context, where only a small percentage of the population, mainly high on the social scale or in the professions or in the Church, was literate, this goes almost without saying; but even inside the population with competence in literacy, specialist outputs aim for the most part at the top end of the market. This core of specialist purchasers may be augmented by more occasional users, who either aspire to join the group or are seeking information about the same.
- 2) *The market is circumscribed and requires specialist distribution.* The specialist producer has to be careful to strike a balance. If the market is too open and too attractive, more general producers will try to muscle in on it, so the specialist producer not only has to avoid attracting competition, but also to find ways of fencing in the market. Within the market, if the producer can count on a prestigious name and customer loyalty, prices can be pushed up (the Aldine press is an excellent example); at the same time, if the product is over-priced, customers will look at more general products and ways of adapting them. One effective means of rendering the product exclusive consists in branding: the house name and the symbols employed by the publisher, especially the mark, are obvious examples.
- 3) *The product is safest if the producer has a technological or other expertise that is difficult to emulate, or emulation would require a rival firm to invest heavily in machinery or in skill.* In the Renaissance printing industry the basic process, the press itself, was straightforward and held few, if any, secrets. The issue therefore became effective and attractive design, both in the way type was cut and cast, as well as in the layout and construction of books, allied with superior editing skills. These factors certainly played a significant part in the success of the Venetian book and, to a lesser extent, of that produced in Lyon. Both cities had to cope with the fact that, unlike their main European rival, Paris, they did not have a strong local market and therefore geared themselves for export. In the context of a general dominance inside Italy, based on easy access to quality paper and good credit, as well as extensive water-based distribution networks, Venice also built up areas of technical excellence

in liturgical publishing and in the printing of music (both products requiring multiple passages under the press in order to print the red and the black separately).

With these parameters in mind, let us now look at a specific episode of book production, involving the publication of a duodecimo edition of Petrarch by Giolito in Venice in 1557. It has several characteristics worth noting: a specialist market, poetry, dovetailing into a much larger literature market; evident branding and product identification on the part of the publisher, as well as some rather fancy ‘engineering’, which not only allowed the producer to vary the presentation, but also to make significant economies in printing.

The firm is one of the best-known second generation businesses to establish itself in Renaissance Venice, Gabriele Giolito de’ Ferrari, whose shop was at the sign of the Phoenix. The family stemmed from the small town of Trino in Monferrato, Piedmont, and was probably involved in the paper and manuscript business before moving into printing and publishing. Gabriele’s father, Giovanni, published in Pavia and Turin, before in 1536 he obeyed the magnetic attraction of the Serenissima and shifted the firm to Venice; after his death in 1539, control passed to Gabriele. The business, continued in turn by his sons, lasted up to the beginning of the seventeenth century and, after the Aldine press, has generated the largest body of critical writing dedicated to an Italian Renaissance publishing house, since much of the catalogue consisted in Italian literature, as well as the finest single example of a bibliography dedicated to the output of an Italian publisher, by Salvatore Bongi (1825–99), issued in seven fascicules from 1890 to 1897, and still absolutely precious.⁵

Publishing the *Canzoniere* and the *Trionfi* of Petrarch was the mainstay of the literature business and, as with the house’s other staple author, Ariosto,

5 Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de’ Ferrari da Trino di Monferrato stampatore in Venezia* (Rome, presso i principali librai, 1890–97). Further information and bibliographical updates are available in the entry by Massimo Ceresa in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2000), vol. 55, pp. 160–165, and in Angela Nuovo & Christian Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell’Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 2005). The Renaissance editions of Petrarch have been amply documented, most recently in Klaus Ley, together with Christine Mundt-Espin & Charlotte Krauss, *Die Drucke von Petrarca’s “Rime” 1470–2000. Synoptische Bibliographie der Editionen und Kommentar, Bibliotheksnachweise* (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 2002). For reasons of space, I shall not give bibliographical references to the Giolito editions of Petrarch cited here, which are easily identified in these repertories as well as in the on-line *Edit6* project.

involved printing the text, paratext and illustrations in different formats and guises, in order to provide a customer with ample choice. It is necessary perhaps to explain to English-language readers that from the Middle Ages up to the beginning of the twentieth century, and even more recently in some parts of the peninsula, Italian was not a spoken language. It was learnt at school, in much the way generations of English children have learnt French, but in the home most Italians, independently of social status, used the local dialect. In the sixteenth century the *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525) by the Padua nobleman, later elevated to the rank of cardinal in modern parlance 'for services to literature', Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), established a model for the Italian language founded on the three great Tuscan authors of the *Trecento*. Bembo's stance was positive in that the qualitative model based on Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, was of the highest possible order, distanced in time and therefore able to overcome regional prejudices; it was negative in that it froze Italian as a language, since it remained a predominantly written medium and only gained acceptance as speech through cinema, radio and television in our own age. Government, politics, official communication at all levels nevertheless required a correct mastery of Italian and publishing poetry in Renaissance Venice was not comparable, in Don Marquis' phrase, to "dropping a rose petal down the Grand Canyon and waiting for the echo": poetry was instead the language of power.

Readers and writers therefore required something more than the bare text of Petrarch. The *Canzoniere* was a poetic gymnasium, in which aspiring versifiers worked out, incessantly running through his lexis and rhyme-scheme, giving rise to numerous other collections of Petrarchan poetry, most of them unregarded today, albeit in many cases with a Giolito imprint. The first edition of Petrarch published by the family, in quarto format, appeared under the name of Giovanni in 1538 and was printed in the shop of Bartolommeo Zanetti. The real *princeps* by Gabriele, again in quarto, with a commentary by Alessandro Vellutello, appeared in 1544 (in the colophon some copies have 1543, others 1544, and yet others 1545, but such chronological jiggery-pokery is typical of the firm). A shift-down in format to duodecimo followed in 1547, when Giolito printed Petrarch's text together with a minimal apparatus by one of the better-known writers and literary hacks of the age, Ludovico Dolce (1508–68), followed by two line-by-line reprints in 1548 (colophon 1549) and 1550. In 1553 Giolito published a more ambitious version, again under the critical aegis of Dolce, to which he added a second part of *Annotationi*, dated 1554, containing critical notes and commentary. The titlepage of the same gives prominence to another well-known contemporary writer, Giulio Camillo (1479–1544). Though he had published little in his lifetime, Giolito seems to have obtained Camillo's

papers and launched a publishing programme, beginning in 1552 with *Tutte le opere di messer Giulio Camillo*, which, judging by the frequency of the reprints, including the production of a second volume in 1560, seems to have met with success. To proclaim the discovery of a Camillo commentary on Petrarch was obviously to strike while the iron was still hot, though in reality the “*Annotationi*” are only a few pages long and otherwise most of the apparatus is the work of Dolce. The venture must nevertheless have been well received, since a few months later Giolito reprinted it with a step up in format to octavo.

At this point we come to the fifth edition in duodecimo format, published in 1557, which is followed in 1560 by the sixth. Both are extremely well known and have been described many times in bibliographies and in specialist catalogues; most of these descriptions, however, excepting some penetrating observations by Bongi, are disheartening, since they wholly fail to grasp the typographical complexities of the operation. In the following pages, helped principally by the illustrations, we provide a synthesis of what happened, concentrating on the more intricate 1557 edition. To put matters in a nutshell, the 1557 duodecimo Petrarch was published with two main issues, here denominated *maior* and *minor*. If we look at the relevant collational *formulae* for the first part of each issue, leaving on one side for the moment the *Annotationi* in the second part, the *maior* reads: A¹² (A¹⁰ + χ ²) B-P¹² Q⁸ R-V¹² X⁸, with 488 pages, and the *minor*, a much more simple: A-Q¹² R⁶, with 396 pages, so that they appear to be two radically different pieces of printing. Nevertheless, despite the almost 100 page difference in size, over 80% of the two issues are executed with the same setting of type. When copies belonging to the *maior* and the *minor* are viewed together, it is immediately apparent that the difference consists in the fact that the former includes the “*Spositioni*” by Dolce, or brief summaries in Roman type preceding each poem by Petrarch, set in italic, whereas in the latter these summaries have been removed and all the pages have a different layout.

To understand the process somewhat better, we need to begin at the beginning and work through the edition in a methodical fashion. Internal evidence consistently points to the *maior* being set up and printed before the *minor* and so the exposition here follows the same order. Not surprisingly the gathering that presents the greatest number of variants is the first. In the *maior* the pages following the titlepage are taken up by a dedication by Dolce (ff. A2r-A3r); a woodcut portrait of the poet (f. A3v); a biography of the poet with the title *Vita del Petrarca* (ff. A4r-A9r), followed by another dedicated to the object of his affections, or *Vita di madonna Laura* (ff. A9v-B3r: though anonymous here, both are by Alessandro Vellutello), rendered structurally more complex with a two-leaf insert – designated χ in the collational *formula* – with a map of the Vacluse; and a lengthy appendix of documents (ff. B3v-B9v). The run over into the

following gathering is such that the opening page of the *Canzoniere* is delayed until f. Bior.

The complications begin well before we reach the *minor*. Starting with the titlepage, the date 1557 in Roman numerals is transformed into 1558 by the simple addition of a digit (Figs. 7.1–7.2). It is nevertheless the same setting, as can be seen from the break in the base of the ‘O’ in “NVOVAMENTE” and the too small second ‘S’ in “DOTTISSIMI”. Of course scholars of Renaissance Venetian printing know to their cost that changing the date, to keep the book ‘new’ for a longer period of time, was standard practice in the Giolito shop. The rest of the gathering is unchanged. There now follows a rather curious change of mind. In its first and second states gathering A contains an undated dedication by Dolce to Giovanni Battista Bonifacio, marquis of Oria, a religiously heterodox aristocrat who is known to have sojourned in Venice in this period (Fig. 7.3). This is substituted with a new dedication to the historian and antiquarian, Andrea Zantani, again by Dolce, but this time dated 4 July 1556 (Fig. 7.5). The decision to publish an alternative version must have been taken on the spur of the moment, since some parts of the gathering had already been distributed back into the case. The title-page in particular was reset and backdated to 1556 (Fig. 7.4).⁶ The distinguishing features noted previously have disappeared, but others have taken their place, such as the broken ‘V’ in “LODOVICO” and the cut in the long ‘s’ in “si”. There is also a slight textual alteration, where “Indici di | esso Dolce” is reset as “Indici | del Dolce”, with a mistaken employment of Roman lower-case type. Inside the *Vita del Petrarca* had evidently been taken out of the formes and put aside as standing type, since it was destined for reuse in the *minor*. It was replaced, but the title at f. A4r was set again: in the first state it reads “LA VITA, ET | COSTVMI DI | M. FRANCESCO | PETRARCA”; in the second “LA VITA, | ET I COSTVMI | DEL POETA”, while in the text small corrections were made, to which we shall return shortly. The *Vita di madonna Laura* on the other hand had been redistributed and had to be set again, at least as far as the pages in gathering A were concerned. Matters are further complicated by the two-leaf fold χ , which contains a woodcut map on ff. χ_{1v} –2r and pages of the biography of Laura on ff. χ_{1r} and χ_{2v} . The insert was necessarily printed on a separate sheet of paper and so its relationship to the Bonifacio or Zantani variants is random: two different states are observable, however, in the title set over the woodcut: in one the text reads “DISCRITION DELLA SORGA, DEL LVGO, DOVE NACQVE MADONNA | LAVRA, E DOVE IL

6 Bongì, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito*, II, pp. 45–46, and other repertories describe this variant with the date 1557 on the title-page, basing themselves on the copy in the Biblioteca Universitaria at Pisa, where an extra numeral has been added in manuscript.



FIGURE 7.1 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, maior issue, titlepage
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.290

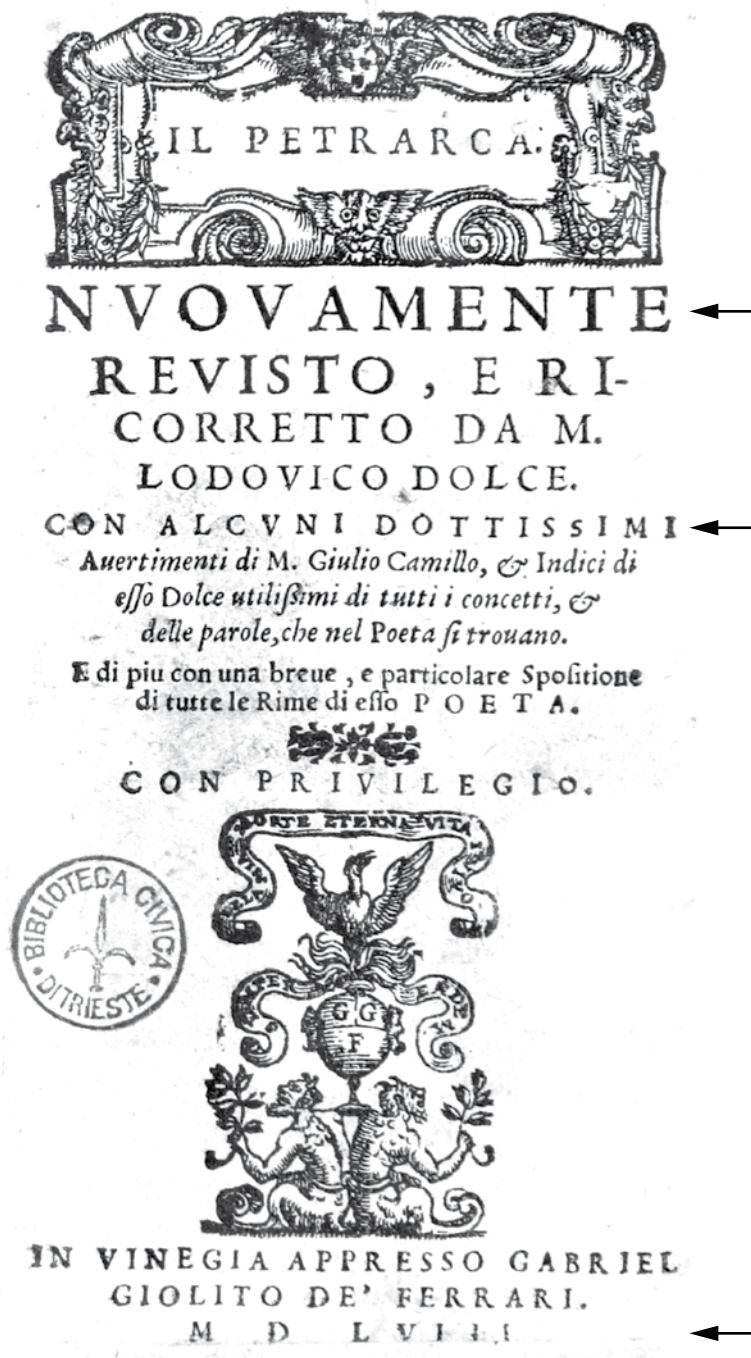


FIGURE 7.2 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1558, maior issue, titlepage
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.722



FIGURE 7.3 Petrarcha, Venice, Giolito, 1557, maior issue, f. Azr, dedication to Bonifacio
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.290



FIGURE 7.4 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1556, maior issue, titlepage
RIETI, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE PARONIANA, B-I-31



AL MAGNIF. E
VIRTUOSISS.

CAVALIERE

M. ANTONIO ZANTANI

DEL CLARISSIMO

SENATORE

MESSER MARCO.



*I PVO con uerità di-
re, la Poesia esser dono
del Cielo, percioche que-
sta facultà non si acqui-
sta col mezo delle dot-
trine, e si concede a po-
chi, perche pochi in tutte le età si sono tro-
uati i buoni Poeti. Di qui si uede Messer
Francesco Petrarca esser non pur tra il nu*

A ij

FIGURE 7.5 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1556, maior issue, f. A2r, dedication to Zantani
RIETI, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE PARONIANA, B-I-31

PERARCA [*sic!*] S'INAMORO" (Fig. 7.6); the other has the variants "CISDRIT-TION...PETRARCA S'INNAMORO". Although a certain mix appears in the distribution among the copies, the first seems to have been set for the 1557 edition and the second for the 1560 reprint. Of course the questions to which we should like an answer – why the dedication was substituted and why it was backdated – have no answer. The nature of the variants do allow us to suppose that the substitute dedication required a small increase in the print-run: some 20 copies of

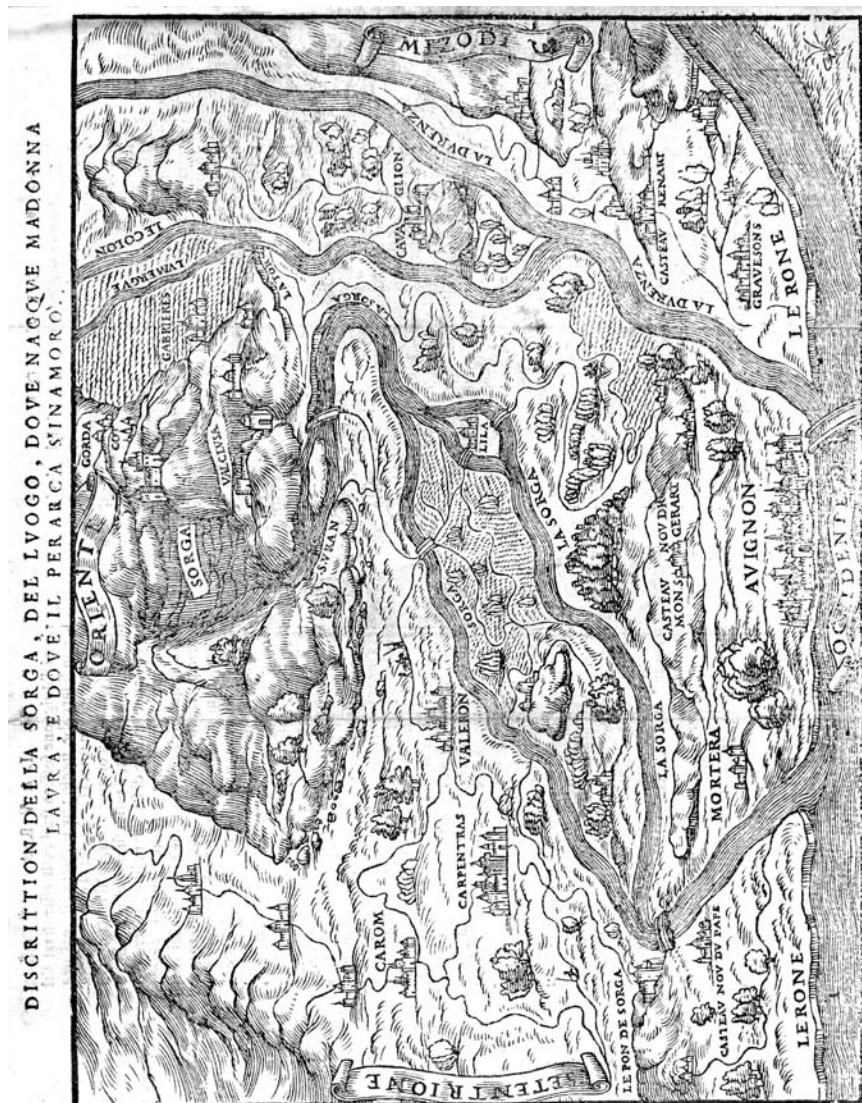


FIGURE 7.6 Petrarca, *Venice, Giolito, 1557*, ff. $\chi v-2r$, woodcut map of the Vaucluse
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.290

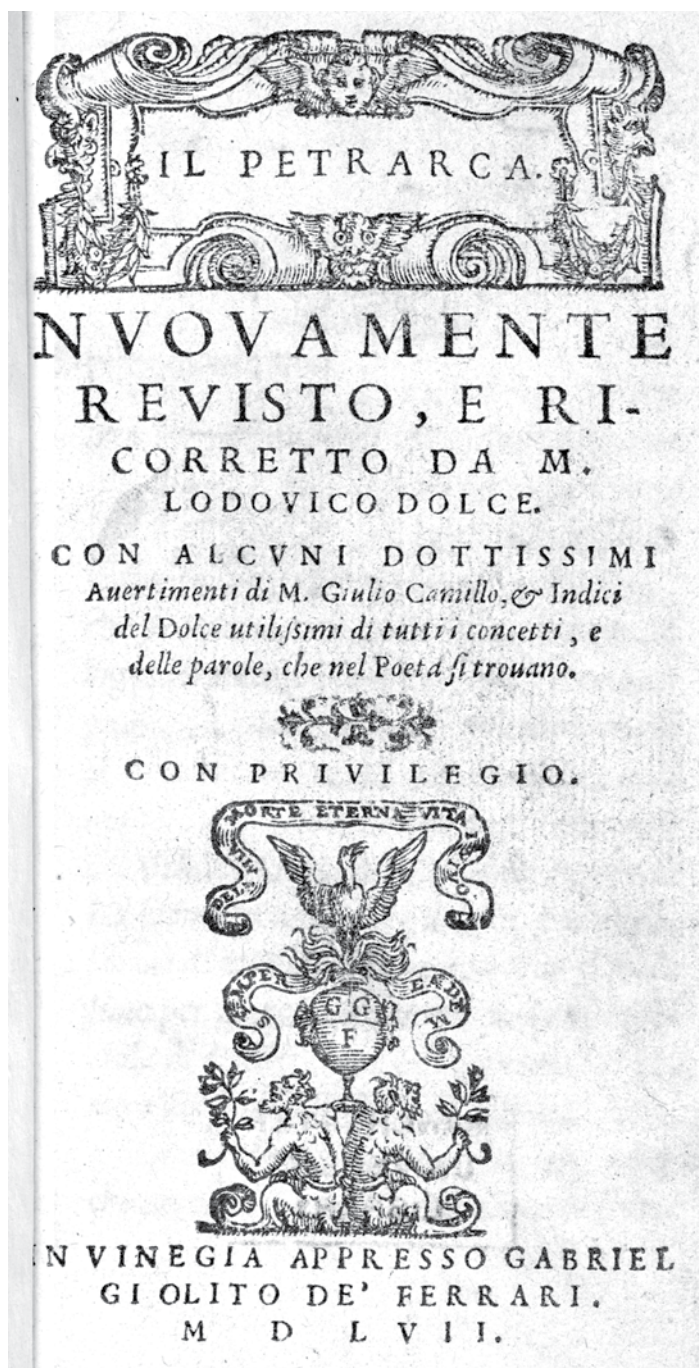


FIGURE 7.7 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue, titlepage

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the *maior* issue survive today and the Zantani variant has been discovered so far in only two of them, so, if the survival rate bears any relationship to the original output, the extra copies were in the order of 10%.

After the temporary delay caused by the alternative dedication, the shop set up the formes again to print the *minor*. The titlepage, redated 1557, otherwise adapts the Zantani setting: the broken ‘V’ and the damaged ‘s’ noted above are both clearly visible (Fig. 7.7). The mutation consists instead in the removal of the two lines set in Roman type advertising the presence of the “Spositioni”, with their place being taken by a larger type-ornament. Moving inside the first gathering, we find a change of dedication, this time signed by Giolito in person (at a guess Dolce might not have been happy about the removal of his expositions) (Figs. 7.11 and 7.13). Since this preliminary text works out a page shorter than those written by Dolce, the woodcut portrait of the author is moved to f. A8v, allowing the *Vita del Petrarca* to begin again on a recto, albeit shifted forward by a whole leaf with respect to the *maior*. Such a change might seem trifling in bibliographical terms, but typographically it required a major reorganisation of the formes. If we look at two sample pages – f. A6v in the outer forme of the *maior* and f. A5v in the inner forme of the *minor* – the setting is visibly the same (Figs. 7.8–7.9). As well as an adjustment to the paging (‘12’ in the former, ‘10’ in the latter) and in the sorts of the running title, the text has however been altered in several points, though the corrections in fact go back to the passage from the Bonifacio to the Zantani versions: in line 1 the erroneous “dar a Roma” is corrected to “andar a Roma”, with the increase in space being compensated by the removal of the hyphen at the end of the line; elsewhere minor typographical tinkering involves the change of “cōdusse” to “condusse” (line 35), with a removal of the half-space before and after the comma to make the necessary space, and the elimination of the final hyphen in line 38. The only alteration made in the passage from the *maior* to the *minor* is the insertion of the catchword (“*andar*”) at the bottom of the page. Similar textual alterations and the addition of further catchwords occur elsewhere in the *Vita del Petrarca* in much the same fashion. Since this was the cheaper, shorter version, the life of Laura, the insert with the map and the appendix of documents relating to Petrarch were all struck out. As a consequence the *incipit* of the *Canzoniere* moves forward from the end of gathering B to f. Agr.

We have not quite finished with the first gathering, however, since yet another variant issue is in store, belonging to the *minor* version. It announces itself with a radical resetting and simplification of the titlepage, with the plethora of information about Camillo and Dolce swept away and replaced with a laconic “CON LA VITA DEL | PETRARCA” (Fig. 7.10). Evidently this is yet another marketing ploy of the self-same Petrarch text, this time devoid of the *Annotationi* in the second part. The real typographical sophistication becomes apparent when we compare the dedication: on f. A2r the text and the setting of

12 VITA DEL

spose uoler dar a Roma . E così l'anno del Signo-
re M CCC XLI. e della sua età XXXII. del mese
di Marzo, in Aquamorta imbarcandosi, prese
per mare il camino : ma prima ch'a Roma andasse
uolse a Napoli Roberto Re di Sicilia uisitare, al
quale hauendo in tre giorni continui tutta l'Africa
letta, fu da tanto sapientissimo Re ueramente de-
gno, della Laurea giudicato dignissimo, laquale
con grande instantia lo pregò, ch'a Napoli uollesse
torre : ma inteso il suo fermo proponimento, a Ro-
ma lo fece honoreuolmente accompagnare, scri-
uendo in suo fauore, e laude a quel Senato, quan-
to delle sue uirtù sentiuua . Giunto a Roma, fu il
giorno solenne della Resurrectione, che quell'an-
no correua a gli otto dì d'Aprile, con grandissimo
consentimento e fauore di tutto'l popolo, in Cam-
pidoglio della Laurea coronato; e già essendo la fa-
ma di lui per tutta Italia sparsa, era da ogni Pren-
cipe di quella auidamente desiderato. Partì da Ro-
ma, & a Parma co' Signori da Correggio si con-
dusse, da' quali riceuette molti honori, & in spe-
cialità l'Archidiaconato di quella città Habito piu
giorni oltre al fiume dell'Elza alle confini di Reg-
gio in una amenissima selua, Piana nomata, doue
a l'Africa interposta tornò a metter mano . Com-
prò in Parma una casa, doue fermo per piu tem-
po stette . E già essendo al quarantesimo anno del
la sua età peruenuto, li fu da Firenze per alcuni
suoi amici scritto, che supplicando egli a gli Antia-
ni di quella Città d'esser da l'essiglio con la restitu-
tione de paterni beni richiamato, che considera-
to la sua buona fama, mediante la quale egli era
nella Città amato, e molto desiderato, ageuolmen-
te il tutto potrebbe ottenere . Per laqual cosa si
condusse ad Arezzo, doue da tutto'l popolo fu som-
mamente honorato . Stette piu giorni in questo
luogo, sempre con lettere, e messi tal cosa tentan-
do; laquale, ne in tutto essendoli negata, ne pro-
priamente conceduta, uedendo egli la cosa douer

FIGURE 7.8 Petrarca, *Venice, Giolito, 1558, maior issue, f. A6v*
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.290

ro V I T A D E L

spose uoler andar a Roma . E così l'anno del Signo
 re MCCC XLI e della sua età XXXII. del mese
 di Marzo , in Acquamorta imbarcandosi , prese
 per mare il camino : ma prima ch'a Roma andasse
 uolle a Napoli Roberto Re di Sicilia uisitare , al
 quale hauendo in tre giorni continui tutta l'Africa
 letta , fu da tanto sapientissimo Re ueramente de
 gno , della Laurea giudicato dignissimo , laquale
 con grande instantia lo pregò , ch'a Napoli uoleffe
 torre : ma inteso il suo fermo proponimento , a Ro
 ma lo fece honoreuolmente accompagnare , scri
 uendo in suo fauore , e laude a quel Senato , quan
 to delle sue uirtù sentiuu . Giunto a Roma , fu il
 giorno solenne della Resurrectione , che quell'an
 no correua a gli otto di d'Aprile , con grandissimo
 consentimento e fauore di tutto'l popolo , in Cam
 pidoglio della Laurea coronato ; e già essendo la fa
 ma di lui per tutta Italia sparsa , era da ogni Pren
 cipe di quella auidamente desiderato . Parti da Ro
 ma , & a Parma co' Signori da Correggio si con
 dusse ; da quali riceuette molti honori , & in spe
 cialità l'Archidiaconato di quella città . Habitò piu
 giorni oltre al fiume dell'Elza alle confini di Reg
 gio in una amenissima selua , Piana nomata , doue
 a l'Africa interposta tornò a metter mano . Com
 prò in Parma una casa , doue fermo per piu tem
 po stette . E già essendo al quarantesimo anno del
 la sua età peruenuto , li fu da Firenze per alcuni
 suoi amici scritto , che supplicando egli a gli Antia
 ni di quella Città d'esser da l'essiglio con la restitu
 tione de paterni beni richiamato , che considera
 to la sua buona fama , mediante la quale egli era
 nella Città amato , e molto desiderato , agenolmen
 te il tutto potrebbe ottenere . Per laqual cosa si
 condusse ad Arezzo , doue da tutto'l popolo fu som
 mamente honorato . Stette piu giorni in questo
 luogo , sempre con lettere , e messi tal cosa tentan
 do ; laquale , ne in tutto essendoli negata , ne pro
 priamente conceduta , uedendo egli la cosa douer
 andar

FIGURE 7.9 Petrarca, *Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue, f. A5v*

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type is exactly the same as in the standard *minor* version, ending with the truncated word “*sodis-*” (Figs. 7.11–7.12); on the verso however the texts diverge quite radically (Figs. 7.13–7.14). In the extended version Giolito extols the excellence of the *Annotationi*; in the abbreviated one this is obviously no longer possible and so he falls back on perfunctory praise of the all too familiar life of Petrarch. What it shows is a printer writing ‘in the lead’, seeking to alter his formes as little as possible and thus conducting a supreme piece of typographical skullduggery.

Moving on to the body of the edition, as has already been mentioned, the printing exploits the same setting of italic type for the texts of the *Canzoniere* and the *Trionfi*, but with the “*Spositioni*” in Roman type present only in the *maior*. In the larger issue the variable length of Dolce’s glosses meant that the layout adapted itself to the text; in the shorter a simpler pattern is followed with two sonnets allocated to each page. In classic bibliographical fashion, the sharing of distinctive damaged sorts shows that the setting is nonetheless the same. For example, the famous sonnet CII, in which Petrarch describes the consignment of the head of Pompey to Caesar, occurs at f. F12v in the *maior* and at f. E1v in the *minor* (Figs. 7.15–7.16). Respectively in lines 21 and 2 the same distinctive break in the ‘l’ in “*l’honorata*” is visible in both impressions. Other examples abound, showing that, despite enormous differences in appearance and layout, these two issues are part of one and the same edition.⁷

This lengthy bibliographical perambulation completes itself with the second part containing the *Annotationi*. Physically the two issues – the *maior* and the *minor* – seem identical siblings, employing the same collational *formula*: a-1¹², and a numbering in leaves (rather than pages, as in the first part) up to 132; the titlepages are also indistinguishable, constituting a nice headache for cataloguers who depend unwisely and overmuch on this source of information (Figs. 7.17–7.18); and even a description executed according to classic Bowers parameters might notice nothing more than a distinction in the mistaken numbering of the leaves in gathering g, where the *maior* has the sequence 73–80 83 82 81 84 and the *minor* 73–76 79 78 81 80 83 82 85 84. But there are lots of differences, since, though the texts and the contents are exactly the same, the indexing necessarily refers to differently numbered pages in the first part of the edition and therefore, in the passage from the *maior* to the *minor*, all these numbers have to change. If we look at f. b1v, containing part of a thematic index compiled by Dolce, the modifications are all too apparent (Figs. 7.19–7.20). Indeed with one small curiosity: in the *maior* the index reference is to the page, in the *minor* it is to the line on the page, so, quite exceptionally, a purchaser paying less is actually getting more.

7 For the definition of edition as “the whole number of copies of a book printed at any time or times from substantially the same setting of type-pages”, see Fredson Bowers, *Principles of bibliographical description* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 39.

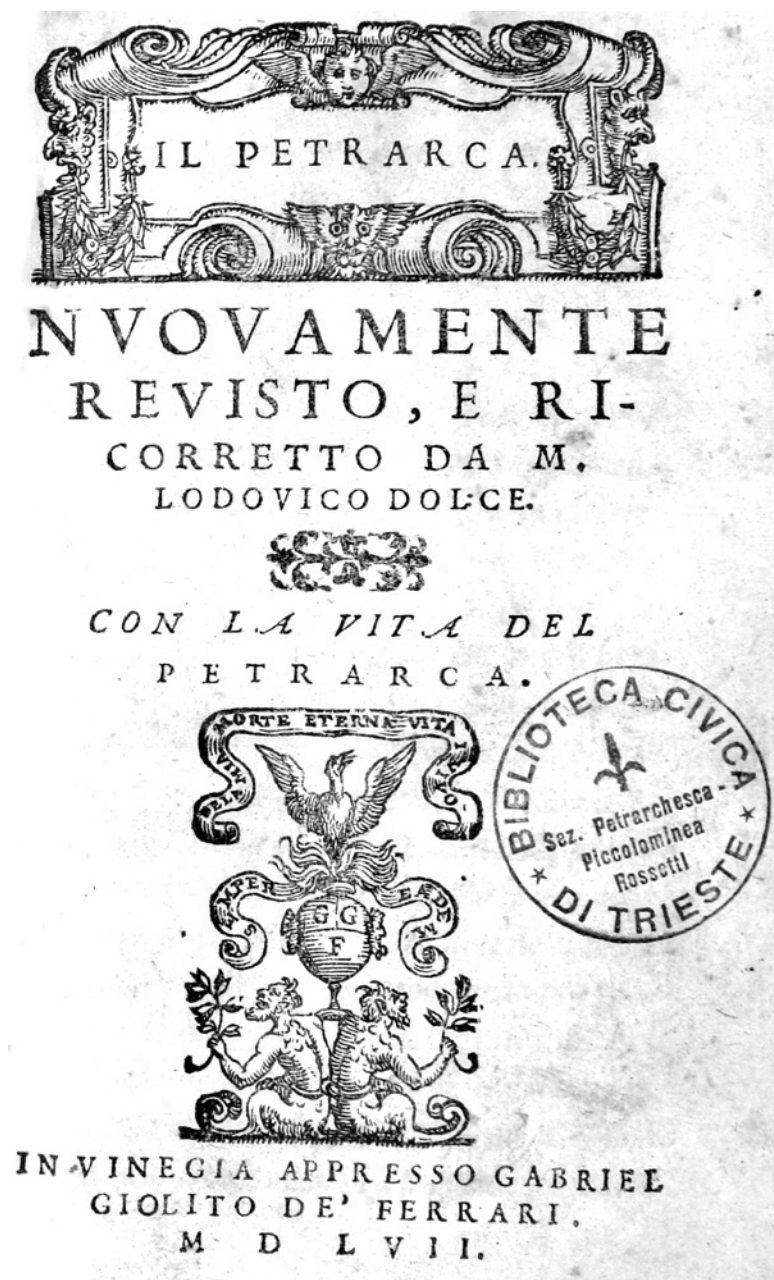


FIGURE 7.10 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue without the Annotations, titlepage
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.282



A I LETTORI

GABRIEL GIOLITO.



SSENDO LE RIME
 di M. Francesco Pe-
 trarca care egualmen-
 te a tutti, e neccessarie
 parimente a ciascuno,
 che procaccia di spiegare in uersi bene, e
 leggiadramente i suoi pensieri; ecco beni-
 gnissimi Lettori, che per ugual commodi-
 tà di tutti, noi ue l'habbiamo date; pri-
 ma co' loro Spositori; cio è co' commenti
 del Velutello, e poi del Gesualdo. Appresso
 habbiamo uoluto dare il testo puro nella
 forma di ottauo; e hora ui si dà il mede-
 simo per maggior commodo nella piu pic-
 ciola di dodici, tanto piu corretto del pri-
 mo e del secondo, che gia ui fu dato; quan-
 to uoi medesimi leggendo trouerete. E per
 che niuna cosa manchi a pienamente sodis-

A ij

FIGURE 7.11 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue, f. Azr
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 BULLOCK 1550. COPYRIGHT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
 MANCHESTER.



A I L E T T O R I

GABRIEL GIOLITO.



SSENDO LE RIME
di M. Francesco Pe-
trarca care egualmen-
te a tutti, e necessarie
parimente a ciascuno,
che procaccia di spiegare in uersi bene, e
leggiadramente i suoi pensieri; ecco beni-
gnissimi Lettori, che per ugual commodi-
tà di tutti, noi ue l'habbiamo date; pri-
ma co' loro Spositori; cio è co' commenti
del Velutello, e poi del Gesualdo. Appresso
habbiamo uoluto dare il testo puro nella
forma di ottauo; e hora ui si dà il mede-
simo per maggior commodo nella piu pic-
ciola di dodici, tanto piu corretto del pri-
mo e del secondo, che gia ui fu dato; quan-
to uoi medesimi leggendo trouerete. E per
che niuna cosa manchi a pienamente sodis-

A ij

FIGURE 7.12 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue without the Annotations, f. Azr
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.282

farui, haurete nella fine di questi due testi
 ignudi e senza appostille, alcuni dottissimi
 auertimenti di M. Giulio Camillo d'intor-
 no ad alquanti luoghi delle Canzoni e de'
 Sonetti del uostro Poeta. Et oltre a cio
 un'Indice copiosissimo del Dolce da tro-
 uare ageuolmente i concetti, e le materie,
 che in Sonetto, o in Canzone, & anco ne'
 Trionfi si contengono; & un'altro di tut-
 te le parole, e de gli Epiteti usati dal Pe-
 trarca: e piu oltre di tutte le discrizzioni,
 o di luoghi, o di tempi; delle comparatio-
 ni, delle sentenze; delle metafore, e d'ogni
 altra cosa degna di memoria, che per tut-
 ta l'Opera sparsa si troua, uno accoglimen-
 to, o diciamo dimostramento brieue e faci-
 le a ciascheduno, affine ch'ogni studioso si
 possa ne' suoi componimenti senza molta
 fatica ualere non meno de i concetti e del-
 le uoci, che di tutte le bellezze, che si con-
 tengono nel uostro amoroso e leggiadrisi-
 mo Poeta. Leggetelo, & offeruatelo, &
 abbracciate la commodità, che fin'hora
 perauentura non ui è stata piu data, o
 messa auanti da niuno.

FIGURE 7.13 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue, f. A2v
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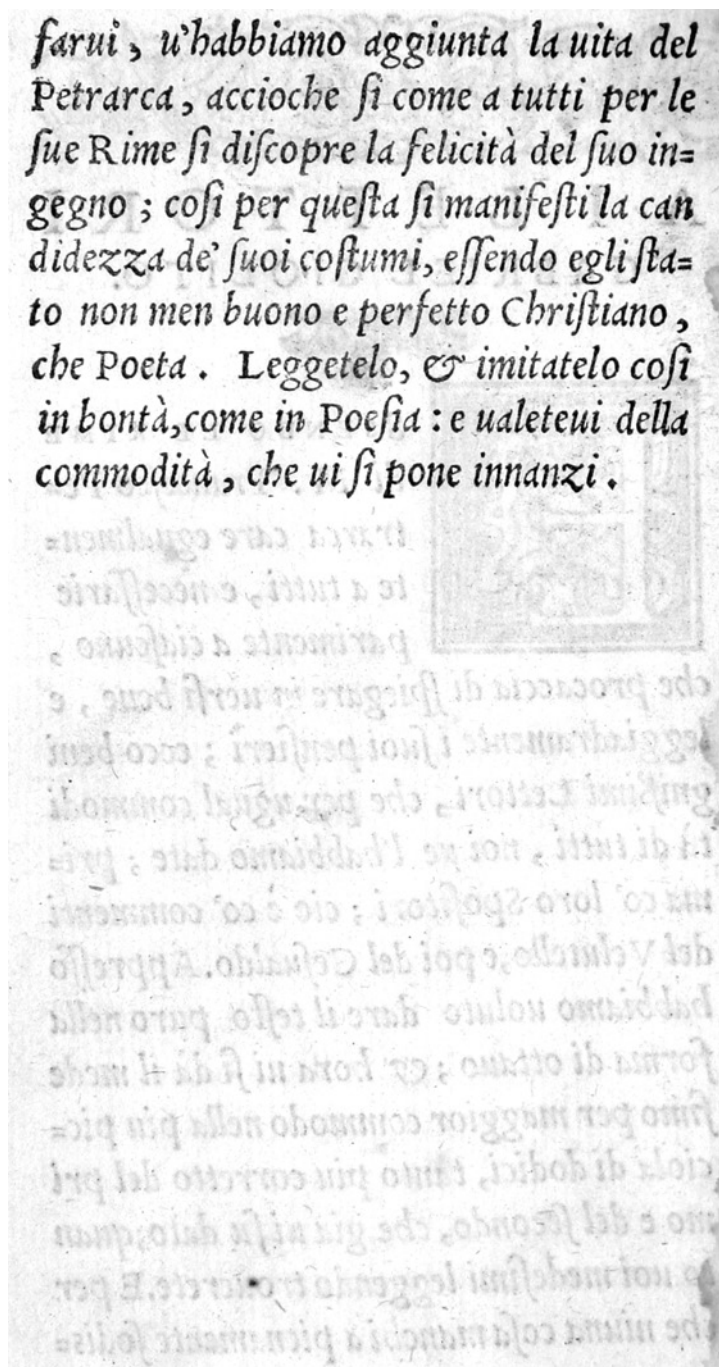


FIGURE 7.14 Petrarcha, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue without the Annotations, f. A2v

TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.282

144 I N V I T A

E che rapidamente n'abbandona
 Il mondo, e picciol tempo ne tien fede.
Veggio a molto languir poca mercede;
 E già l'ultimo dì nel cuor mi tuona.
 Per tutto questo Amor non mi sprigiona:
 Che l'usato tributo a gli occhi chiede.
So, come i dì, come i momenti, e l'hore
 Ne portan gli anni; e non riceuo inganno,
 Ma forza assai maggior, che d'arti maghe.
La uoglia, e la ragion combattut'hanno
 Sette, e settant'anni; e uincerà il migliore;
 S'anime son qua giu del ben presaghe.

S P O S I T I O N E.

Dimostra in questo Sonetto, che se bene egli al
 cuna uolta rideua e cantaua, non era però, che
 non haueffe il suo cuore addolorato; con lo esem-
 pio di Cesare, che ricopri l'allegrezza della mor-
 te di Pompeo con le lagrime, & di Annibale, che
 rise nella rotta, che egli riceuette da Scipione ce-
 lando il suo dolore. DESPITTO, Dispetto.

Cesare, poi che'l traditor d'Egitto
 Li fece il don de l'honorata testa,
 Celando l'allegrezza manifesta
 Pianse per gli occhi fuor, sì come è scritto;
Et Annibal, quand'a l'Imperio afflitto
 Vide farsi fortuna sì molesta,
 Rise fra gente lagrimosa, e mesta,
 Per isfogare il suo acerbo despetto;
E' così auien, che l'animo ciascuna
 Sua passion sotto'l contrario manto
 Ricopre con la uista hor chiara, hor bruna.
 Però

FIGURE 7.15 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, maior issue, f. f12v
 TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.290

98 I N V I T A

Cesare, poi che'l traditor d'Egitto
 Li fece il don de l'honorata testa,
 Celando l'allegrezza manifesta
 Pianse per gli occhi fuor, si come è scritto;
Et Annibal, quand'a l'Imperio afflitto
 Vide farsi fortuna sì molesta,
 Rise fra gente lagrimosa, e mesta,
 Per isfogare il suo acerbo despetto;
E' così auien, che l'animo ciascuna
 Sua passion sotto'l contrario manto
 Ricopre con la uista hor chiara, hor bruna.
Però s'alcuna uolta i rido, o canto;
 Facciol, perch'io non ho, senon quest'una
 Via da celare il mio angoscioso pianto.

E inse Annibal: e non seppe usar poi
 Ben la uittoriosa sua uentura,
 Però Signor mio caro, haggiate cura,
 Che similmente non auegna a uoi.
L'Orsa rabbiosa per gli orsacchi suoi,
 Che trouaron di Maggio aspra pastura,
 Rode se dentro; e i denti, e l'unghie indura
 Per uendicar suoi danni sopra noi.
Mentre'l nouo dolor dunque l'accora,
 Non riponete l'honorata spada:
 Anzi seguite là, doue ui chiama
Vostra fortuna dritto per la strada,
 Che ui puo dar dopò la morte ancora
 Mille, e mill'anni al mondo honore e fama.
 L'aspettata

FIGURE 7.16 Petrarca, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue without the Annotations, f. Erv
 TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.282

ANNOTATIONI DI M. GIVLIO CAMILLO

SOPRA LE RIME DEL
PETRARCA.

TAVOLA DI M. LODOVICO DOLCE.

*de i concetti : Estratti di molte belle & affigurate
forme di dire , & altre cose pertinenti
ti alla moralità , & all'arte .*

TAVOLA DI TUTTI I VOCABOLI CON
le Spofition loro , e de gli Epiteti ufati da effo Petrarca : e di tutte le definenze de i Sonetti e
Canzoni del medefimo fecondo l'ordine
delle cinque uocali .



CON PRIVILEGIO.



IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL
GIOLITO DE' FERRARI.
M D L V I I.

FIGURE 7.17 Annotations, Venice, Giolito, 1557, maior issue, titlepage
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, I.Aa.290



FIGURE 7.18 Annotationi, Venice, Giolito, 1557, minor issue, titlepage
TRIESTE, BIBLIOTECA CIVICA, III.600

GIVRAMENTO.

Di non hauer detto non so che. 234. S'il dissi mai.

G V A N T O.

329. *Candido.*

H

H A B I T O.

73. *Verdi panni.*

H O N E S T A'.

277. *Cara la uita.*

I

I M P R E C A T I O N E.

106. *Ne Poeta. 135. 1. Fiamma del ciel.*

I M A G I N A T I V A.

300. *Hor in forma.*

I M P O S S I B I L I T A'.

59. *Ma io farò. 75. Allhor. 104. Lasso le neu. 110. Ch'allhor fia. 123. I non poria. 172. Ad una ad una. 195. Non Tesin. 218. Nulla posso leuar. 226. Di di in di. 260. Ben fia. 262. Ma pria fia'l. 162. Hora ne'l mio. 263. In rete accolgo.*

I N F E L I C I T A'.

242. *Beato in sogno. 250. Quando'l Sol bagna.*

I M P R V D E N Z A.

108. *Lasso, che.*

I R A.

256. *Vincitor Alessandro.*

I N V I D I A.

180. *Così nascosto. 311. O invidia nemica. 313. Quanta invidia.*

I N S V F F I C I E N Z A.

318. *Trouaimi a l'opra. 319. Dapoi piu. 319. L'alto e nono.*

GIVRAMENTO.

Di non hauer detto non so che. 71.1. *S'il difsi mai.*

G V A N T O.

167.23. *Candido.*

H

H A B I T O.

40.19. *Verdi panni.*

H O N E S T A'.

206.1. *Cara la uita.*

I

I M P R E C A T I O N E.

66.29. *Ne Poeta.* 135.1. *Fiamma del ciel.*

I M A G I N A T I V A.

226.9. *Hor in forma.*

I M P O S S I B I L I T A'.

29.5. *Ma io farò.* 42.21. *Allhor.* 65.1. *Lasso le neui.*

70.8. *Ch'allor fia.* 81.32. *I nō poria.* 122.21. *Ad una*

ad una. 42.1. *Non Tefin.* 153.24. *Nulla posso leuar.*

65.15. *Di di in di.* 189.2. *Ben fia.* 193.24. *Ma pria*

fià'l. 194.8. *Hora ne'l mio.* 194.23. *In rete accolgo.*

I N F E L I C I T A'.

178.1. *Beato infogno.* 184.15. *Quando'l Sol bagna.*

I M P R V D E N Z A.

69.1. *Lasso, che.*

I R A.

189.1. *Vincitor Alessandro.*

I N V I D I A.

129.28. *Così nascosto.* 154.1. *O invidia nemica.* 235.

15. *Quanta inuidia.*

I N S V F F I C I E N Z A.

235.1. *Trouaimi a l'opra.* 19. *Dapoi piu.* 240.1. *L'al
to e neuo.*

Once again, however, the same basic setting of type is employed for both versions, as can be seen from the broken leg of the 'A' in "INFELICITA" (line 21). One final technical cataloguing observation: f. b1v is also f. 13v, which therefore is one of the points chosen by the LOC Fingerprint in taking a reading of the first two characters of the last line and the first two of the penultimate line. In a context where other bibliographical methods reveal themselves inefficacious, this sometimes maligned device does the job, giving "to31" for the *maior* and "to23" for the *minor* (for the record I add that many years ago it was precisely this distinction that first drew my attention to this extraordinary typographical *tour-de-force*).⁸

Whatever we might think about the typographical and bibliographical intricacies of this edition, it must have been a commercial success, since in 1560 Giolito went through the whole process again. Indeed the 1560 reprint of the first part appears also to have been a partial reissue, judging from the number of times they are found bound together, of a stock of copies of the *Annotationi*, belonging to both the *maior* and the *minor* issues. Fortunately the situation of the 1560 edition is otherwise less complicated: there is no playing around with the date on the titlepage and the *maior* reprints only the dedication to Bonifacio, though this means that the text reproduces the less correct state of the *Vita del Petrarca*, which then makes its way, still uncorrected, into the *minor*. An issue of the Petrarch part of the *minor*, advertising only the *Vita del Petrarca* on the titlepage, was also printed off, but, though it repeats the text of Giolito's dedication, a different size of type was used, changing the lay-out, so that the brilliant switch in the passage from the recto to the verso was no longer possible and the same result had to be obtained in a more laborious fashion.

In this essay we have moved from sweeping generalisations about marketing theory to a detailed bibliographical analysis of a complex Renaissance edition. They are two sides to the same coin, since, through a brilliant display of typographical skill, in which a printer-publisher of the first order conceives and executes several versions of the same book, adapted to customers with different pockets, while simultaneously making important savings in the work of the compositor, a very precise market strategy takes effect. As on the shelves of a modern supermarket, where the same producer offers much the same washing-up liquid with a variety of names and packagings, so all these subtle differentiations of the same Petrarch have the same essential function, to blanket out rival productions and thus to transform a general market into a specialist one.

8 On such devices and their application to the cataloguing of early printed books, see Neil Harris, 'Tribal lays and the history of the fingerprint', in David J. Shaw (ed.), *Many into one. Problems and opportunities in creating shared catalogues of older books*. Papers presented on 11 November 2005 at the CERL Seminar hosted by the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome (London, Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2006), pp. 21–72.

Poor Man's Music? The Production of Song Pamphlets and Broadsheets in Sixteenth-Century Augsburg

Amelie Roper

At first sight, sixteenth-century music printing appears to be the quintessential specialist trade. In general, printed music was aimed at a very particular audience: professional musicians and those who enjoyed musical performance for recreation. Moreover, the production of books with musical notation required skills and equipment that would not have been present in every print shop. The setting of music demanded a level of musical literacy on the part of the compositor and provision of a special font of type. The type would have been expensive, and one might imagine that only a print shop intending to take a regular part in this market would undertake such a capital cost. In addition, with reference to the printing of vocal music, the demands of text underlay, whereby the words to be sung had to be printed in correct vertical alignment with the musical notation, further complicated the process. However, the market for printed music proved to be more complex than this implies. There were many facets to feeding the public demand for what could be sung on the market square and in the tavern as well as in church and at home. This diversity provided opportunities for the production of song pamphlets and broadsheets alongside the partbooks and choirbooks typically thought of as music publications. Often sold by itinerant booksellers, these additional formats had a rather different market profile.

An examination of Augsburg's production of partbooks and choirbooks over the course of the sixteenth century shows that, whilst the city's music printers produced a handful of landmarks in these areas, it was Nuremberg that dominated the field in the German-speaking countries. However, the situation with reference to the publication of song pamphlets and broadsheets was very different. Based on data gathered from the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), it can be estimated that around 73% of Augsburg's sixteenth-century music publishing output was in the format of pamphlets and broadsheets, with only 25% presented as choirbooks, partbooks, liturgical books, keyboard music and hymn books, and books about music constituting a mere 2%.¹ This is

¹ The Universal Short Title Catalogue is freely available at <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk>>. These figures are based on the 425 music items printed in Augsburg from 1500 to 1600 identified in the database on 30 November 2012.

compelling evidence that song pamphlets and broadsheets formed the core of Augsburg's sixteenth-century music output and, moreover, that in terms of scale, it was a significant centre for their production.

Notwithstanding scholarship on the role of song in Reformation Germany, the specific contribution of Augsburg to the culture of song-pamphlet and broadsheet production has so far received relatively little sustained critical attention.² The excellent work of Alexander Fisher focuses on these formats in Augsburg from the 1580s,³ but, with the exception of Allyson Creasman's research on pamphlet censorship,⁴ there has been less discussion of the specific role played by the city before this date. This observation is all the more striking given that England,⁵ France⁶ and Italy⁷ have been more widely

- 2 Scholarship on the role of song in Reformation Germany includes Bob Scribner, *Popular culture and popular movements in Reformation Germany* (London, Hambledon Press, 1987) and *For the sake of simple folk. Popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994), together with Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001) and Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- 3 See Alexander J. Fisher, 'Song, confession and criminality. Trial records as sources for popular musical culture in early modern Europe', *Journal of Musicology*, 18/4 (2001), pp. 616–657, and *Music and religious identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004).
- 4 Allyson F. Creasman, *Censorship and civic order in Reformation Germany, 1517–1648* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2012).
- 5 Christopher Marsh, *Music and society in early modern England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010) and 'The sound of song in print in early modern England. The broadside ballad as song', in Julia Crick & Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *The uses of script and print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 171–190. See also Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan pamphleteers. Popular moralistic pamphlets, 1580–1640* (London, Athlone Press, 1983); Adam Fox, *Oral and literate culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2000); Ian Green, *Print and protestantism in early modern England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000); and Natascha Würzbach (trans. Gayna Wells), *The rise of the English street ballad 1550–1650* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- 6 Kate Van Orden, 'Cheap print and street song following the Saint Bartholomew's Massacres of 1572', in Kate Van Orden (ed.), *Music and the cultures of print* (New York/London, Garland, 2000), pp. 271–323.
- 7 For Italy, see the research of Rosa Salzberg including 'The lyre, the pen and the press. Performers and cheap print in Cinquecento Venice', in Craig Kallendorf & Lisa Pon (eds.), *The books of Venice* (Delaware, Oak Knoll Press, 2008), pp. 251–276; 'Street singers in Italian Renaissance urban culture and communication', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/1 (2012), pp. 9–26; 'Selling stories and many other things in and through the city. Peddling print in sixteenth-century Florence and Venice', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 42/3 (2011), pp. 737–760;

researched, and when we consider the peaks and troughs of Augsburg's song-pamphlet production over the course of the sixteenth century.

Fig. 8.1 charts Augsburg's music publishing output from 1500 to 1600, again using data from the *USTC*. Alongside the total music output for each decade we see the contribution made by song pamphlets and broadsheets to that total. These figures must be treated with a degree of caution, particularly with reference to the apparent increase in production in the periods 1541 to 1550 and 1591 to 1600, which may well be influenced by the dates "ca. 1550" and "ca. 1600" being assigned to the many undated works. At the same time, the volume of production prior to 1580, and in particular the peak in the period 1561 to 1570, indicate that production in the earlier part of the century is worthy of attention. These variations also suggest that it may be fruitful to chart patterns of publication against particular historical events, an observation to which I will return.

The fact that Augsburg's specific role has been neglected prior to the 1580s can be connected with the difficulties inherent in the materials themselves. Often

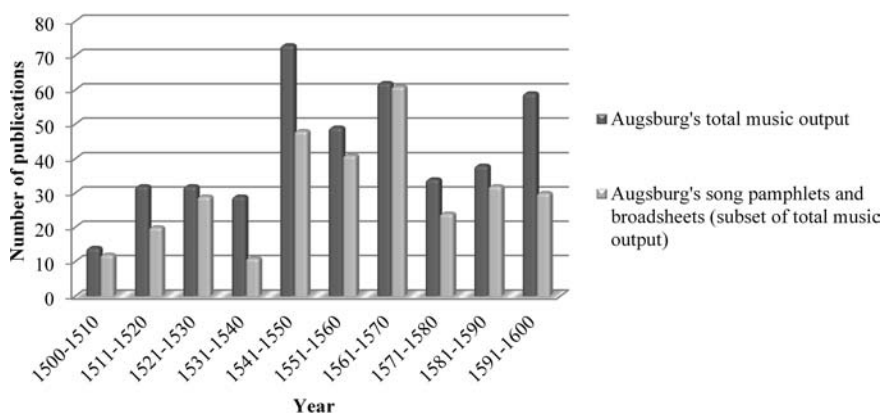


FIGURE 8.1 *Contribution of song pamphlets and broadsheets to Augsburg's music printing output during the sixteenth century (based on USTC subject/place of publication search, 1500–1600)*⁸

⁸ 'In the mouth of charlatans. Street performers and the dissemination of pamphlets in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 24/5 (2010), pp. 638–653; and "Per le piazze & sopra il ponte". Reconstructing the geography of popular print in early sixteenth-century Venice', in Charles Withers & Miles Ogborn (eds.), *Geographies of the book* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2010), pp. 111–131.

⁸ These figures are based on the 425 music items printed in Augsburg from 1500 to 1600 identified in the *USTC* database on 30 November 2012.

dismissed as ephemera, it has been estimated that only 0.5% of the music broadsheets produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have survived.⁹ Whilst both formats were depleted by war damage, pamphlets fared slightly better because they were sturdier than single sheets.¹⁰ Of particular note are two large collections in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. In addition, a more general tendency to bind pamphlets in tract volumes has aided their survival in smaller quantities in other libraries across Europe.¹¹

Specific research into Augsburg has also been hindered by the fact that materials in these formats commonly lack dates, publishers' names, places of publication and easily-identifiable titles, characteristics which make them challenging to document precisely. However, the publication in 2009 of the final volume of Eberhard Nehlsen's three-volume catalogue *Berliner Liedflugschriften*, which documents song pamphlets produced up until 1650 in the collections at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, opened up new possibilities for research.¹² In the field of music broadsheets, Rolf Brednich's two-volume *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* serves a similar purpose, albeit on a much smaller scale, and offers in addition a system for classifying different broadsheet types.¹³

With this foundation in mind, I will begin by considering how song pamphlets and broadsheets can be defined and then seek to establish who printed them, how their publication evolved over the century and why Augsburg excelled in their production. This in turn will provide the basis for considering their purpose, the extent to which patterns of production reflect historical events, and, crucially, at whom they were aimed. Were they simply produced as a type of 'poor man's music', so catering for the city's mass of

9 Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 55 and 60; Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1974–1975), vol. 1, p. 24.

10 For further discussion of survival, see Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 8–9.

11 For a brief discussion of the storage of pamphlets and their survival, see Henry Petroski, *The book on the bookshelf* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), pp. 251–252.

12 Eberhard Nehlsen (ed.), *Berliner Liedflugschriften. Katalog der bis 1650 erschienenen Drucke der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (3 vols., Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 215–217; Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 2008–2009).

13 Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt*. Brednich divides broadsheets into sacred songs (further subdivided into the categories of Catholic and Lutheran), historical songs (which comment on past events), news songs (reporting on current affairs), and leisure and folk songs.

impoverished craftsmen and day labourers,¹⁴ or was the situation more complex?

Defining Song Pamphlets and Broadsheets

In the sixteenth century, the term *Liedflugschrift*, or song pamphlet, refers to a publication typically in octavo format consisting of a single sheet printed on both sides and then folded and cut to produce four or eight leaves. As indicated by Fig. 8.2, a song pamphlet produced in Augsburg by Matthäus Franck around 1565, such publications usually have a title page bearing the song's title, instructions on the melody (or in some cases melodies) to be used and a simple woodcut. The melodies are for the most part well-established popular songs or hymn tunes, and only a handful of the examples I have investigated contain any element of printed music.¹⁵ The emphasis was thus on producing songs in a cheap, convenient format which was accessible to those with little or no musical literacy. When compared with partbooks, they were generally technically undemanding to print due to the absence of music and the resulting avoidance of the need to overcome the difficulties of text underlay, thus helping to minimise production costs.

Publishers' names, places of publication and dates rarely appear in full on song pamphlets, but, when present, they generally appear at the foot of the title page, or, more commonly, on the final page. As Fig. 8.2 shows, following the title page, the song text is printed, typically broken down into verses over the pages that follow with no commentary or further instruction. 66% of the 268 Augsburg song pamphlets I have surveyed have four leaves, whilst 17% have eight leaves and 6% have more than eight leaves. (The remaining 11% are anomalous examples with three, six or seven leaves.) The predominance of the octavo format together with the presence of four leaves suggests that, for reasons of economy, two pamphlets could have been printed on one sheet. It is difficult to establish an upper limit for the number of leaves, and thus to draw the line between a song pamphlet and a small book of songs. Nehlsen has suggested a maximum of 16 leaves, but, in order to document the complete

14 Bernd Roeck, 'Rich and poor in Reformation Augsburg. The city council, the Fugger bank and the formation of a bi-confessional society', in Bridget Heal & Ole Peter Grell (eds.), *The impact of the Reformation. Princes, clergy and people* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008), p. 66.

15 Of the 232 Augsburg song pamphlets I have consulted, only 14, that is, 6%, include musical notation.

Ein hüpsch New
Lied / von dem Gottsförchtigen
Joseph / vnd von dem Ägyptischen
Weybe.
Im Thon:
Ich stünd an einem Morgen / &c.



Getruckt zu Augspurg / durch
Mattheum Francken.

FIGURE 8.2 Ein hübsches neues Lied von dem Gottesfürchtigen Josef und dem ägyptischen Weib
 (Augsburg: Matthäus Franck, circa 1565) [title page and first page]
 (c) BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, C.175.1.31.(71.)

Als Gott wie schwär ist
 dienen/dem der Leybeigen ist:
 d'Haußgnossen zuersöhnen/fürwar da ist
 kein frist. Als sie dann Knecht vnleydige
 klagt/es wer doch nit ein wonder / ein ar-
 mer Dienst verzagt.

I Do: zeyten kundert ich dienen/ meins
 Herren Frauen recht: Regt ist kein bñu-
 gen nyenen / Joseph vnser Mücknecht.
 Hat yetzt den wurff in seiner hand / etwas
 wurde drauß erwachssen / es sey Ehr oder
 schandt.

I Doch will ich in nicht schelten/ hat er
 schon yetzt das Glück: Gott laß mich nie
 outgelten / dann ich denck vil vnnd dick.
 d'Frau muß ihm hold oder feind sein / sie
 geht im Hauß umbbrummen / vnd ruffen
 wie ein Schwein.

I Mich dunckt sie sey besessen / mit fal-
 scher Liebe gar: Ihrs Herren wölle ver-
 gessen / des Ehebruchs nimpt sie war. Ir
 äuglein seind so gar verblendt / wann sie
 sich nit will massen / an Eheren wirdt sie
 geschendt.

I d'Frau

collection in Berlin, his catalogue includes some much lengthier examples.¹⁶ The 16-leaf limit is helpful as a general rule, though it is not unusual for bound volumes of 'pamphlets' to include one or two longer items, especially at the beginning and end.¹⁷

Einblattdrucke, or broadsheets, can be defined as single sheets, unfolded and printed with continuous text on one side only.¹⁸ In the case of those of a musical nature, a portrait layout and sheet dimensions of roughly 26 cm by 17 cm were typical, though there were considerable deviations from this pattern.¹⁹ In the absence of a title page, when included, any descriptive information and instructions for use were given at the head of the page. Their printing seems to have developed alongside the production of the first books with moveable type in the 1450s, and, whilst they were initially largely text only, the Augsburg printer Günther Zainer was amongst the first in the German-speaking countries to produce an illustrated broadsheet in the form of a ballad dating from around 1475 (Fig. 8.3).

In 32 rhyming couplets, the ballad describes a woman's fight against the devil's army, a scene portrayed in great detail in the woodcut. Depicting the height of the battle, the woman is shown beating a devil with a spoon, whilst two others have already been knocked to the ground and a further four await defeat. As with song pamphlets, descriptive woodcuts were a feature of many sixteenth-century broadsheets, though they were not always as detailed or as specific to the text as this one.

This early broadsheet also points towards the close relationship between drama and song, and as such leads us to question how song pamphlets and broadsheets can be distinguished from similar-looking publications that were intended to be read aloud or re-enacted without any musical component. Or, to put the question another way: to what extent can we draw a line between dramatic and poetic *Flugschriften* and *Flugblätter* and the explicitly musical *Liedflugschriften* and *Liedflugblätter*? It is difficult to answer this question

16 For further discussion of the definition of song pamphlets, see Nehlsen, *Berliner Liedflugschriften*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xi.

17 This is the case in the collection of pamphlets held at British Library shelfmark C.175.i.31. The first item is a small book of songs with a length of 64 leaves and the last is a 'long pamphlet' of 20 leaves.

18 See Nicolas Barker, *The ABC for book collectors* (Delaware, Oak Knoll Press, 2004), p. 51, and Brednich, *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt*, vol. 1, pp. 7–8. Brednich (p. 8) explains that there are a handful of examples of broadsheets printed on both sides, but these seem to present distinct works on each side, and are therefore probably errors or test pages.

19 The examples that I have examined range in height from 204 mm to 316 mm. Widths are also variable, ranging from 127 mm to 209 mm.



FIGURE 8.3 Illustrated broadsheet printed in Augsburg by Günther Zainer, circa 1475

UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK LEIPZIG, ED.VET.S.A.M. 103-I

satisfactorily as the boundaries are not clear cut. One obvious indication of a musical intention is the presence of the word “Lied” (or variants such as “Lyed”, “Leyd” or “Lid”) on the title page, or, in the case of broadsheets, at the head of the page. Sometimes, however, the publications do not explicitly describe themselves as songs at all, and this is where the boundaries become more blurred.

A musical intention can be identified in a proportion of these by the presence of a phrase explaining which melody (or melodies) to use. Still fewer

examples are untitled and begin simply by printing the relevant melody. Interestingly, I have also come across a few instances where the user is given a dual instruction with reference to use. This is the case in a pamphlet printed in Nuremberg by Valentin Neuber circa 1570. Entitled *Der einundsechzigste Psalm des Königlichen Propheten Davids*, it bears the instruction “zu betten oder zu singen” (literally “to pray or to sing”).²⁰ Moreover, there are a handful of examples worded “zu lesen oder zu singen” (“to read or to sing”).²¹ With this variation in mind, therefore, it seems likely that many of the pamphlets and broadsheets presented as songs could equally have been intended to be read aloud, and, in the case of those of a sacred nature, used as a basis for prayer. This argument is reinforced by the possibility that some music broadsheets might have been posted on walls or doors, thus providing evidence of a blurred distinction between song and proclamation.²² Indeed, many of the surviving examples show signs of wear at their corners, which would be consistent with this method of display.²³ In short, therefore, these formats should be viewed as flexible in terms of their mode of delivery.

At this point, it is relevant to consider the concept of contrafactum, which, in its simplest form, refers to the process of composing new texts to old melodies. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this generally involved the substitution of a sacred text for a secular one.²⁴ Although a new text had been supplied, the old text evoked by the melody still resonated, encouraging the work to be interpreted inter-textually.²⁵ A pre-Reformation Augsburg example can be seen in Fig. 8.4. This broadsheet, printed around 1500 by Johann

20 A copy of this pamphlet can be found in the British Library, shelfmark C.175.i.31.(48.).

21 See for example the pamphlet at British Library shelfmark 11515.a.51.(16.), *Eine schöne Tageweise ganz klüglich zu lesen oder zu singen*, which does not bear a date or an indication of a printer.


22 For further consideration of this in the context of 1570s France, see Van Orden, ‘Cheap print’, pp. 278–280.

23 For evidence of this type of use, see the broadsheets held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at shelfmarks Einbl.III,45 and Einbl.III,47 m.

24 For an introduction to this concept, see Martin Picker, ‘Contrafactum’, in *Grove music online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>, last accessed 30 November 2012, and Georg von Dadelsen, Armin Brinzing, Hartmut Schick & Reinhard Schulz, ‘Parodie und Kontrafaktur’, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Sachteil* (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1997), vol. 7, col. 1394–1416. For more detailed discussion, see Friedrich Blume, *Protestant church music. A history* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1975), pp. 29–35.

25 For further discussion of inter-textuality, see Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion*, pp. 51–52; Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 99–104; and Fisher, ‘Song, Confession and Criminality’, pp. 621–628.

Ach got wem sol ichs clagen. Geymlich.



Ach got wem sol ichs clagen.
 mir leyt groß kummer an. Mein
 hertz wil mir verzagē. ich hab vil
 sünd gethan. ich dö:fft beichte büß
 vnd reue wolt ich gen got beston
 so ruff ich mit reue. Maria die
 wol gethon.
 Das sy mir gnad erwerbe. gen
 got dem schöpffer mein. Das mit
 mir ewig sterben. in reuen ich sy
 main. sy kan vns wol bewaren.
 die kaiserliche mayde. wenn wir
 von hinnen faren. sy gezt vns
 freid vnd glaydt.
 An vnserm leysten ende. kan sy vns helffen schon. Vnd
 mag vns gnad her sende. wol auß dem böchsten thron. vnd
 kum vns zu hilff maria. behüt vns alle tag. cläglich so thū
 wir schreyen. maria wend vnser clag.
 Auff dich hab ich gebauet. du wöllest wē nicht verlan
 Das thū ich die vertrauen. du bist gar wol gethan. ich wil
 mich dir er geben. ganz vnder tūng sein. in deine willen le
 ben. biß auff das ende mein.
 Nun wil ich nicht verzagen. ich wil in hoffnung sein.
 Ihesus dem wil ichs clagen. maria der mütter sein. er hat für
 vns gelitten so iämerliche not. ich wil in seintlich bitten.
 durch seinen grymmen tot.
 Darzū wil ich die rayne. maria ruffen an. In reuen ich
 sy mayne. sy thū mir ley gestan. das sy vns gnad erwerbe
 gen irem lieben kind. das mit mir ewig sterben. sunder sey
 ner gnaden find.
 Die welt wil ich verachten mit irer üppiglayt. Das ley
 den gotz betrachten. ich hoff mir werd betayt. wenn ich thū
 wider streben. den sünden allen gar. das ich nach disem le
 ben. kum in der engel schar.
 Die sünd die wil ich beichten auß meinem hertzen ganz
 Ich hoff mich thū erleichten. darnach gölicher glantz. vō
 Iesus wil ich begeren. glauben hoffnung vnd die lieb. mit
 fleiß wil ich es leren. das ich die tugent yē.
 O her durch all dein gūte. am end so stand vns ley. Vo:
 tikel vns behüte. mach vns von sünden frey. verleich vns
 ewigs leben. durch dein barmhertziglayt. das wöllest du
 vns gesen. groß lob sey dir gesayt.

FIGURE 8.4 Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen (Augsburg: Johann Froschauer, circa 1500)

Froschauer,²⁶ uses the melody “Ach Gott, wem soll ich’s klagen”, a popular secular love song, with a new Marian text.²⁷ The details of the melody to be used have been pasted onto the side of the sheet at right angles to the text block, and the emphasis on Marian devotion is reinforced by the woodcut in the top left-hand corner.

The melody of the song, which can be found in a number of contemporary sources,²⁸ is repetitive and has a small vocal range, aiding the ease with which it could be memorised and sung. Moreover, by aligning the first verse of the original text with the first verse of the broadsheet text, it is apparent that there are parallels between them, particularly at the beginning of lines, in addition to the more general similarities in terms of number of syllables and patterns of stress (see Fig. 8.5).²⁹ The woodcut together with the use of the popular melody and the associations of its text resonating in the background would have assisted those using the broadsheet in both understanding and interacting with its contents.

In the late sixteenth century, contrafactum continued to play a role in Augsburg’s song-pamphlet and broadsheet production, particularly in the context of publications produced in reaction to specific events. A case in point is the pamphlet *Wo es Gott nit mit 1584 Augspurg helt*, written by the Augsburg weaver Abraham Schädlin.³⁰ Whilst a printer cannot be identified, it seems likely that it was produced in Augsburg, possibly by Josias Wörli or Hans Schultes the Elder. As Alexander Fisher has demonstrated, Schädlin’s version is a political contrafactum of a Lutheran psalm tune in response to the events surrounding the expulsion of the Protestant preacher Georg Müller from

26 This broadsheet is described as item 12 in Brednich *Die Liedpublizistik im Flugblatt*, vol. 2, p. 18. For further discussion, see Brednich, vol. 1, p. 63.

27 For a summary of the most common secular melodies used in song broadsheets, see Brednich, vol. 1, p. 63.

28 This work appears in two manuscripts in the National Library of Austria, *Carmina quinque vocum* (shelfmark Mus. 17846), dating from around 1523, and a further manuscript compilation dating from 1524 to 1533 (shelfmark Mus. 18810). For further discussion of sources, see Hellmut Rosenfeld, ‘Ach Gott, wem soll ich’s klagen. Betrachtungen zu einer 1481 aufgezeichneten unbekannten Fassung’, *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 12 (1967), pp. 173–176.

29 The original text is from Markus Bartholomé *Geld macht Musik – Money powers music. Music from the Fugger family* [CD and booklet] (Darmstadt, Corviello Classics, 2011), p. 13. The text of the broadsheet has been transcribed from the copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Einbl.III,44. The translations are my own.

30 Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, shelfmark 4° Aug. 735, no. 3.

FIGURE 8.5 *Original and new texts for Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen*

Original song text (verse 1)	Translation of original song text (verse 1)	Broadsheet text (verse 1)	Translation of broadsheet text (verse 1)
Ach Gott, wem soll ich's klagen Das heimlich Leiden mein! Mein Buhl ist mir verjaget	Oh God, to whom can I complain About my secret suffering! My sweetheart has been taken away from me.	Ach got, wem soll ichs klagen Mir leytt groß kumer an. Mein herz wil mir verzagen	Oh God, to whom can I complain I am burdened with great sorrow. My heart wants to despair
Bringt meinem Herzen Pein Soll ich mich von ihr scheiden.	It brings my heart pain To be parted from her.	Ich hab vil sünd gethan. Ich dörrfft beicht büß und reüe	I have committed many sins. I must confess, repent and show remorse
Tut meinem Herzen weh,	My heart is aching,	Wolt ich gen got beston	If I am to hold my own against God['s judgement]
So schwing ich mich über die Heiden	So I will disappear over the heath.	So rüff ich mit trüe Maria	Therefore I call out with faith to Mary
Du siehst mich nimmer mehr.	You shall never see me again.	Die wol gethon.	Who has done well.

Augsburg in June 1584.³¹ Most sixteenth-century Protestants would have been familiar at the very least with the psalm's vernacular translation, *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält*. The original psalm, *Nisi quia Dominus erat* (number 124 or 123 in the Latin Vulgate), concerns persecution by enemies, symbolised by a raging flood and a hungry beast.³² Reading the texts together, Georg Müller can be seen to be being persecuted by the city council authorities.

31 Creasman, *Censorship and civic order*, pp. 163–169 and 172–178, provide further commentary on the many songs and woodcuts produced in support of Georg Müller.

32 For further discussion, see Fisher, 'Song, Confession and Criminality', pp. 621–628.

An extreme example of the complexity of some sectors of Augsburg's production of these formats is an unusual landscape broadsheet produced by the firm Sigmund Grimm between 1525 and 1526 (Fig. 8.6). Andrew Morrall and Vera Sack have shown that this publication was created under the editorship of the humanist Ottmar Nachtigall, a known Catholic apologist in Augsburg, who had been appointed preacher at the Catholic stronghold of St Moritz by the Fugger family.³³ It consists of a woodcut produced by Jörg Breu the Elder, showing an image of St Thomas together with a scroll containing a verse distych, flanked by two further verses of text in italic script and bordered by three lines of music complete with text underlay in gothic script. The result is a highly original and technically sophisticated combination of image, text and music.



FIGURE 8.6 *Untitled broadsheet edited by Ottmar Nachtigall, with text by Thomas Vogler and woodcut by Jörg Breu the Elder (Augsburg: Sigmund Grimm, 1525 or 1526)*
UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK FREIBURG I. BR., RA 4.93/48

33 Andrew Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder. Art, culture and belief in Reformation Augsburg* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001), pp. 186–188, and Vera Sack, *Glauben im Zeitalter des Glaubenskampfes. Eine Ode aus dem Strassburger Humanistenkreis und ihr wahrscheinliches Fortleben in Luthers Reformationslied "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott". Textanalysen und -interpretationen, mit einem Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Emblems* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg im Breisgau, 1988), pp. 12–14.

Significantly, the distych is centred around 'Didymus' reading:

Orbis et clari fabricator astir	Creator of the world and the shining stars
Plasmi tu Soter miserum tuere	Redeemer, hear the pious entreaty of Didymus:
Et pio salva Didymi precatu:	Protect and save your wretched creation:
Celica donans.	Give him mercy. ³⁴

As well as the Greek for "twin", so referring to Thomas "who was called the twin" (John 20, verses 24 to 29), Didymus was the adopted and classicised name of Thomas Vogler, one of Ottmar Nachtigall's three chief Strasbourg humanist friends. The ode, which is a lament over the current godless times, is Vogler's only known poem, and can be seen as a humanist response to the Reformation. The music is thought to have been composed by Nachtigall himself.

The text is a plea to God for protection and mercy, evoking an image of current human life as an aimless wandering, which is contrasted with a happy past, where men lived peacefully with each other. In the final section, Vogler turns back to God with trust and hope, balancing the plea at the beginning. So, we see that this Augsburg broadsheet is strikingly complex both in its typographical arrangement and the layers of meaning behind it, requiring close collaboration between the poet, printer, artist and editor-come-composer to bring it to fruition.³⁵ Furthermore, full comprehension of its content would have required significant levels of education, thus suggesting that Augsburg's song-pamphlet and broadsheet production was multi-faceted in terms of the markets it served.

Patterns of Publication

Consideration of the extant examples of these formats at the most general level enables three overarching conclusions to be drawn regarding patterns of publication. Firstly, there seems to have been limited overlap between those printers producing song pamphlets and those producing song broadsheets. Secondly, for the most part, Augsburg's broadsheet producers resided in the city's poorer suburbs, in particular the eastern Jakobervorstadt and northern Georgen-Vorstadt.³⁶ And thirdly, broadsheets were generally produced by

34 Translation from Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder*, p. 186.

35 Ibid., p. 188.

36 See Wolfgang Seitz, 'The addresses of Augsburg broadsheet makers', in Dorothy Alexander & Walter L. Strauss, *The German single-leaf woodcut 1600–1700. A pictorial catalogue*

firms active prior to 1540. Combined with the general increase in song-pamphlet production after 1540 observed earlier, this suggests that single-sheet music publications were replaced by short anthologies in song-pamphlet format after that date. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that Augsburg's sixteenth-century song-pamphlet publishing industry was dominated by five major firms, all of which were active beyond 1540. In order of importance based on volume of output, these were Matthäus Franck, Valentin Schöning, Michael Manger, Melchior and Narziß Ramming and Hans Zimmerman.

This explains, at least in part, the increase in production during the 1550s and 1560s seen in Fig. 8.1, as most of the key pamphlet printers would have been active at that time. At the same time, the more modest spike in production in the period 1520 to 1530 can be seen as a reflection of the first wave of interest in evangelical pamphleteering in the early years of the Reformation.³⁷ In musical terms, this involved contributing to the production of music to serve the new focus on congregational song in the Protestant church. This included printing new translations of hymns and their melodies together with additional secular songs in pamphlet format, as well as in the form of hymn books and partbooks.³⁸

Based on the examples I have identified, Fig. 8.7 breaks down the contribution of each of the main Augsburg pamphlet printers by percentage. It is significant that, of the five dominant printers, only Valentin Schöning is known to have produced any partbooks or other specialist music publications, and that the 17% volume of production of that firm is eclipsed by the 28% contribution of general printer Matthäus Franck. This suggests that a significant proportion of Augsburg's song pamphlets were produced by general printers rather than music specialists, in turn indicating that the format was aimed at a wide audience rather than the narrow market of professional musicians and keen amateurs. Thus, by including song pamphlets and broadsheets in the spectrum of Augsburg's music publications, we are able to supplement the traditional view that purchasers of music would generally have been able to read music.³⁹ It seems instead that both specialist and general printers were

(2 vols., New York, Abaris Books, 1977), vol. 2, p. 827, together with the map on the end papers.

37 Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion*, p. 163.

38 For further discussion, see Blume, *Protestant church music*, pp. 14–28.

39 See Stanley Boorman, 'Early music printing: working for a specialised market', in Sylvia S. Wagonheim & Gerald P. Tyson (eds.), *Print and culture in the Renaissance. Essays on the advent of printing in Europe* (London, Associated University Presses, 1986), pp. 222–245.

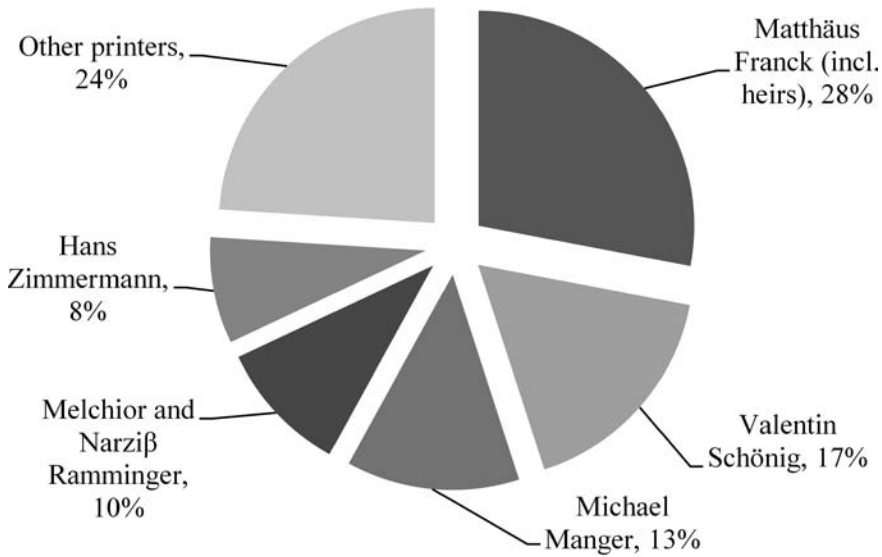


FIGURE 8.7 Significant sixteenth-century Augsburg song-pamphlet printers (based on a sample of 268 song pamphlets)

involved in the production of music materials, offering different formats in response to the needs and abilities of different market sectors.

Interestingly, in some cases, there are strong indications that printers deliberately wished to remain unidentified, and it is often the case that these correlate with a peak in production associated with a particular set of historical events. This is illustrated by a number of pamphlets from the late 1540s and early 1550s produced in response to the Augsburg Interim of 1548, which ordered Protestants to readopt traditional Catholic beliefs and practices.⁴⁰ Of the 23 Interim songs that have been identified, only eight bear publishers' names. One of these is *Ain New Lied wie die Predicanten der Stadt Augsburg geurlaubt und abgeschafft seind, den 26. Augusti, Anno Domini 1551*, which exists in two copies in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ye 3565 and Ye 3566. Dating from the early 1550s, it describes the expulsion of ten Protestant preachers from Augsburg on 26 August 1551. The preachers' plight can be seen to represent the plight of the pious Lutherans who resisted the Interim in words, deeds and song when they could, but who often ultimately had no choice but to conform.⁴¹

40 See Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, pp. 141–142, and Creasman, *Censorship and civic order*, pp. 100–107.

41 Oettinger, pp. 168–169 and 362–367.

Intriguingly, as well as lacking a printer's name, the author of the text is also concealed. A short poem at the end of the copy of the pamphlet at Ye 3566 directs the reader to an anagram:

Der dises Liede erstlich sang
Findstu nach der Gsatzen anfang
An grossen Büchstaben da besich
Gott sey lob Eer und preyß ewiglich.

Ulrich Holtzman can be identified as the author by taking the capital letters from the beginning of each verse of the text. With reference to this song pamphlet, therefore, as well as indicating a deliberate absence of publication details, we see that responses to specific historic events may have boosted the number of pamphlets produced in certain decades. Correspondingly, dates can be tentatively assigned to undated pamphlets by means of the specific events they describe.

Even after the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, which allowed the princes of the states of the Holy Roman Empire to select either Lutheranism or Catholicism in the areas they controlled, and gave residents who did not wish to conform to the prince's choice a period in which they were free to emigrate to a region where their desired religion had been accepted, there was still a significant amount of unrest. Although Augsburg's city council attempted to act as a neutral power, and to stick to a confessionally neutral course, in the years that followed, the limitations of this approach became evident.⁴² This in turn encouraged dissenters to become resistant in song, and it appears that some of this resistance was expressed in the form of song pamphlets produced in manuscript as well as in print.

One event which sparked intense reaction was the replacement of the traditional Julian calendar with the new Gregorian calendar. On 24 February 1582, Pope Gregory XIII had decreed that, throughout Christendom, the 4 October would be followed immediately by the 15th. This would restore the vernal equinox to the 21 March, a date consistent with the rules for calculating Easter. Following the lead of the nearby Duchy of Bavaria, Augsburg city council agreed to change in January 1583. However, Protestant preachers viewed the new calendar as evidence of Catholic domination, and resisted its introduction fiercely. These tensions, which have come to be known as the *Kalendarstreit*, came to a head on 4 June 1584, when the city council accused the Protestant preacher Georg Müller of resistance and expelled him from the city.

42 Roeck, 'Rich and poor', p. 84.

The research of Alexander Fisher has demonstrated that the records of criminal investigation preserved in the Augsburg city archive paint a vivid picture of the city council's attempts to stifle the 1584 uprising.⁴³ In addition, they provide a valuable insight into the role of manuscript song pamphlets in the expression of this unrest. Of significance in this respect is the case of Jonas Losch, a Protestant weaver who was arrested in September 1584 for singing anti-Catholic songs on Augsburg's streets.⁴⁴ The records, which paraphrase Losch's answers to the council's questions in remarkable detail, refer to songs copied by hand. So, we learn that "He has made up to 30 songs for dancing and singing [...] he wrote the other into a book, which is now in his house" and "Last Sunday, an apprentice from Memmingen named Michael Karg came to him and brought him a printed song, which he copied, writing at the top, 'I, Jonas Losch, made this song'".⁴⁵ Moreover, the records show that the Augsburg pamphlet printers Josias Wörli and Hans Schultes the Elder were both questioned in relation to the production of "the song of the preachers' exile".⁴⁶ The council was thus acutely concerned at the dangers of seditious singing. As a result, printing song pamphlets brought with it a fair amount of risk, with punishments including short jail terms, the pillory and, in serious cases, exile from the city.⁴⁷ This in turn encouraged both the circulation of controversial songs in manuscript and the omission or encoding of details by which individuals might be identified in printed versions.

A "Little Book of Songs": The Use of Song Pamphlets in Sixteenth-Century Germany

I shall now consider how these formats might have been used, taking as a starting point a fascinating collection of 72 pamphlets in the British Library, shelfmark C.175.i.31. Although the volume lacks any ownership marks, it is preserved in a contemporary, blind-tooled pigskin binding and the spine bears the manuscript inscription "Gsangbüchl.", which can be translated literally as "little book of songs" or "little book of hymns". It contains some 39 items which do

43 Fisher, 'Song, Confession and Criminality', pp. 616–657.

44 Ibid., pp. 628–641. See also Creasman, *Censorship and civic order*, pp. 164–166.

45 Fisher, pp. 632 and 633 respectively.

46 Ibid., pp. 646–647.

47 Ibid., p. 619.

not appear in Nehlsen's printed catalogue, thereby indicating that it is a valuable untapped source of information on sixteenth-century German song-pamphlet culture. For the most part, the contents are clean and in excellent condition, suggesting a low level of practical use.

Leaving aside the fact that the volume contains three publications which, on account of their length and content, are not strictly speaking song pamphlets,⁴⁸ there appears to have been a degree of systematic collecting. All of the tracts are from the German-speaking countries, with 38 printed in Nuremberg, 15 in Augsburg and the remaining 19 from a variety of locations.⁴⁹ Within the collection, only two include any printed music, and most are four or eight leaves in length and conform to the familiar model of a title page bearing details of the melody to be used and a simple woodcut, followed by the song's text. Whilst the dates of the pamphlets in the collection range from 1525 to around 1570, the majority are from the 1560s and 1570s.

All of the Augsburg tracts were printed by Matthäus Franck, providing additional evidence of his status as Augsburg's principal sixteenth-century song-pamphlet printer. Moreover, all except the fifth, which has only his printer's mark, bear his name on the title or last page, suggesting that he was happy to be identified as the producer of the songs. Unlike some of the examples discussed earlier, the songs do not appear to be a reaction to particular historical events, and, as a result, it is difficult to date them precisely, though, as we shall see, it is possible to infer a rough chronology amongst some of them. Interestingly, of the 38 Nuremberg examples, 28 were printed by the music specialist Valentin Neuber. This suggests the model for song-pamphlet production in Augsburg was different to that of Nuremberg. Whereas in Augsburg, general printers seem to have dominated, in Nuremberg, it appears that general and specialist music printers played more of an equal role in production.

With the exception of three (tracts 31, 37 and 54), all of the pamphlets in this collection are sacred in nature. Their presentation sometimes takes the form of recounting parables in rhyming verse. Of the 15 Augsburg examples, six (tracts 25, 27, 28, 40, 55 and 71) have this function, whilst others are aimed at specific life events, including preparing for death (tracts 52 and 53). All use well-known folk or hymn tunes which would have been transmitted orally, in

48 These are tracts 1, *Geistliche und christliche Gesänge aus der heiligen Schrift gezogen*, printed in Erfurt around 1557 (64 leaves), tract 24, *Ein allernützlich Buchlein über die vier Evangelisten samt dem Buchlein über die Apostel*, printed in Speyer in 1525 (20 leaves) and tract 72, *Ein bewerte Ertzney elen Francken wie sie Gesundheit der Seele und Leibs erlangen möchten*, printed in Nuremberg around 1555 (20 leaves).

49 The Augsburg tracts are 5, 11, 18, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 40, 52, 53, 55, 59, 63 and 71.

manuscript, or by means of published collections, for those who could afford them. One possible printed source is the collection of four-part German and Latin songs printed in Augsburg in 1512 by Erhard Öglin. Another is Georg Forster's 1539 edition *Ein Außzug guter, alter und neuer teutsche Liedlein*, published in Nuremberg as a set of four partbooks.⁵⁰

The fact that some of the Augsburg song pamphlets in this collection gave their users a choice of melody would also have made them accessible to a wider audience including those who did not read music, and those who did not have access to printed sources. If the individual (or perhaps the group) did not know one of the melodies, they could select another instead. Moreover, the choice of melodies accessible to a wide sector of the population is further evidence of a desire for such pamphlets to gain general usability. For example, with reference to tract 27, *Drei geistliche Jakobslieder*, the St Jakobslied might have been chosen to appeal to those living in the Jakobervorstadt in the east of the city. Aware of the threat to the political order presented by the large number of poor and discontented citizens, constantly inflated by the influx of people from the countryside, at the beginning of the Reformation, Jacob Fugger the Rich had built the *Fuggerei*, his most famous foundation for the poor, in this district.⁵¹

In the pamphlets based on parables, the life of Joseph emerges as a recurrent theme. Tract 71 (Fig. 8.2) tells the story of Joseph's rejection of the advances of his master Potiphar's Egyptian wife (Genesis 39, verses 1 to 20). The woodcut illustrates the crux of the story, showing Joseph fleeing from her clutches. The song that forms tract 55 initially tells the story of the earlier part of Joseph's life, explaining how he was cast into a pit and then sold into slavery by his brothers (Genesis 37, verses 1 to 35), before moving on to reiterate the story of tract 71. Again, the woodcut depicts the height of the action, showing Joseph being hauled out of the pit prior to being sold. By contrast, a third pamphlet, tract 27, recounts the life of Joseph's father Jacob in three shorter songs. To this pamphlet is added a fourth 'bonus song', which tells of Lazarus being raised from the dead.

Part of the reason for the inclusion of the extra song might have been to fill out a full eight leaves. The three Jacob-based songs take up five leaves and the extra Lazarus song occupies the remaining three. Tract 40 can also be related to this addition, dealing with the rich man and Lazarus, and the other biblical examples concern the raising of the dead (tract 25) and the prodigal son

50 A second volume appeared in 1540 and a second edition of volume one was published in 1543.

51 Roeck, 'Rich and poor', p. 69.

(tract 28). Moreover, the fact that three pamphlets produced by the same printer deal with Jacob and Joseph suggests that there could have been an element of planning in their release. It seems likely that tract 71, presenting the smallest part of Joseph's life, might have appeared first, followed by tract 55, dealing with his life as a whole. Purchasers could buy individual songs 'in instalments' as they were released, purchase only the complete story, or opt for a compilation with a bonus song.

Why, then, were these song pamphlets collected, and how might they have been used? Some light can be shed on this question by considering Fig. 8.8, an unattributed woodcut dating from around 1530. Entitled "Das Gesang der Schlemmer" (literally "the song of the feasters"), it shows a group of people in a secular context gathered around a broadsheet bearing the same title. It seems highly likely that some pamphlets and broadsheets were used in inns and taverns and perhaps even for performance as street songs, particularly since these venues were thought to have been favoured for discussions about religion.⁵² This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that singing would not just have taken



FIGURE 8.8 *Das Gesang der Schlemmer* (woodcut, circa 1530)

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52 For further discussion of the use of song and distribution of pamphlets and broadsheets in taverns, see B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and civic order. The culture of drink in early modern*

place in church but also in the home, at work and in communal areas. When used communally, it is possible that one or two members of the group might have acted as leaders to guide the less able through the content. This model of use is reinforced by the woodcut since the man on the right appears to be directing the "performance", whilst Martin Luther holds the head of the broadsheet.

At the same time, this collection does not comfortably conform to this model. Religious in nature, the contents do not provide a commentary on current affairs, nor do they really serve the purpose of light entertainment, instead taking the form of gentle religious teaching. This volume is thus more convincingly viewed as a collection of standard, post-Reformation sacred pamphlets, all the more interesting because they provide a counterpart to those used purely for secular entertainment, those which reflected particular historical events and those which communicated more complex messages by means of *contrafacta*. Whilst the element of systematic collecting and clean nature of these particular copies is suggestive of a compilation assembled by an individual for presentation purposes rather than practical use, at a broader level, an interactive, group use of this type of material is also a distinct possibility. Furthermore, whether purchased by individuals for private contemplation or used communally, the power of these types of song pamphlets should not be underestimated. They had the potential to alter the mind either through their use in the home or in the context of worship, a function reinforced by the central role played by singing in Protestant services as a means of showing a lively commitment to an active religion.⁵³ In this way, the volume can be interpreted as a collection of sacred songs purchased by instalment and preserved as a means of both maintaining and developing a living faith.

Poor Man's Music?

Considered in the context of the comparatively modest nature of at least some of the examples we have seen, it is tempting to view Augsburg's sixteenth-century song-pamphlet and broadsheet output as a type of 'poor man's music', produced to meet the needs of the city's many impoverished craftsmen and day labourers. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that many of Augsburg's broadsheet producers, at least, resided in the city's poorer

Germany (Charlottesville/London, University Press of Virginia, 2001), especially pp. 164–165. For more general commentary on discussions in inns, see Scribner, *Popular culture*, p. 43.

53 Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion*, p. 41.

suburbs. However, at the same time, the mostly illiterate lower classes received a rudimentary formal education, if any, learning only what was necessary for their trades. This could mean reading, basic mathematics, signing one's name, or, in the case of agricultural workers, perhaps nothing at all.⁵⁴ So, even if most people could afford the price of a broadsheet or pamphlet, with the cheapest examples thought to have cost the equivalent of three or four hours work for a labourer,⁵⁵ they would firstly have to be literate enough to read them comfortably and secondly they would need to have been interested enough to use their disposable income to purchase them.⁵⁶

Furthermore, whilst song pamphlets and broadsheets may have been comparatively cheap, it does not follow that they were exclusively aimed at the poor. Certainly these formats were more affordable to those of limited means than a set of partbooks, and it seems that, in certain cases, there were deliberate attempts to make their contents widely accessible through the use of well-known melodies and the inclusion of descriptive woodcuts. Together, these features gave an insight into the content of the text without the need to read it in its entirety and the ability to perform the song without reading music or reference to any additional sources. However, this does not exclude the use of these formats by other sectors of society, and there are, moreover, many examples, which demand a high level of literacy, and where an apparently simple exterior is deceptive in hiding many layers of meaning. Considering Augsburg's song-pamphlet and broadsheet production at the most general level, therefore, rather than 'poor man's music', it would be more appropriate to describe it as 'everyman's music'.

54 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 11. For further discussion of literacy, see Creasman, *Censorship and civic order*, p. 31.

55 Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion*, p. 159. Pamphlet prices are also discussed in Creasman, *Censorship and civic order*, pp. 31–32 and Hans-Jörg Künast, "Getruickt zu Augspurg": *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1997), pp. 188–196.

56 Oettinger, *Music as propaganda*, p. 10.

Printed Polyphonic Choirbooks for the Spanish Market¹

Iain Fenlon

It is now generally accepted by book historians that the fragile character of the Spanish press in the early modern period can be attributed to a combination of technical, economic and social factors. These include poor financial investment and an inadequate supply of good quality paper, the best of which had to be imported from Genoa.² Transport costs were high, and the local type industry was largely improvised.³ Moreover, the Spanish print industry suffered from a shortage of skilled workers, which meant that Spanish presses were often critically dependent upon immigrants from northern Europe.⁴ In these circumstances the local market was heavily reliant upon books printed abroad, particularly in Italy and Flanders.⁵ By the second half of the sixteenth century Flanders, Lombardy and the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies were all under Spanish control. This both facilitated the movement of books and print workers to the Iberian peninsula, and also shaped the editorial strategies of printers and publishers.⁶ In both Antwerp and, to a lesser extent Milan, considerable quantities of books in the Spanish language were produced for export;

1 Although Portugal was absorbed into the Spanish dominions from 1580 until 1640, the pattern of book production there in general, including books of music, is quite distinct and different. See Iain Fenlon, 'The Portuguese connection. The Craesbeeck firm and the choirbook trade' (forth.).

2 Manlio Calegari, *La manifattura genovese della carta (16th–17th centuries)* (Genoa, ECIG, 1985); Paolo Cervini, *Edifici da carta genovesi (Secoli XVI–XIX)* (Genoa, SAGEP, 1995).

3 D.W. Cruikshank, 'Some aspects of Spanish book production in the Golden Age', *The Library*, 5th series, 31 (1976), pp. 1–19.

4 Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2010), p. 261.

5 Dan W. Cruikshank, 'Literature and the book trade in Golden Age Spain', *The Modern Language Review*, 73 (1978), pp. 799–824.

6 For the production of Spanish-language books in the Low Countries see Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux* (2 vols., Nieuwkoop, de Graaf, 1965); Andrew Pettegree & Malcolm Walsby, *Netherlandish books. Books published in the Low Countries and Dutch books printed abroad before 1601* (Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2011).

in the former these were such a prominent aspect of the local printing and publishing industry that between 1545 and 1570 the city produced more such titles than did printers working in Spain itself.⁷ Nonetheless, the phenomenon of the 'Antwerp period' in the history of Spanish book production does not mean that the majority of books in the vernacular were printed outside Spain, nor that all copies of the Spanish-language books printed in Antwerp and Milan would have been destined for sale abroad.⁸ Some of them would have been bought by readers from both the local Spanish merchant community, as well as by an elite audience of officers in the Spanish garrisons and the upper reaches of the occupying administrative machine.⁹

By the second half of the sixteenth century most of what was read in Spain was imported. So, for that matter, was most of the music that was heard. The repertories of polyphony sung in Spanish cathedrals and collegiate churches, as well as in more private and domestic environments, were substantially shaped by books of music printed abroad. While much of the sacred liturgical repertory that arrived in Spain in this way was printed in partbook format, a significant share of the market was occupied by upright folio choirbooks printed in the major European centres of production. Although such books were in demand throughout Catholic Europe during the sixteenth century, in Spain they continued to have a particularly prominent functional role after the Council of Trent, in large part because of the retention of the traditional Spanish *coro*, whose distinctive spatial arrangement continued to be preserved despite the Council's insistence on the increased visibility of the liturgy in action. This stands in contrast to some other places, where the policies of Trent in this regard were carried out to the letter.¹⁰ Enclosed within a fixed stone structure, the *coro* is typically closed on its eastern flank with a wrought-iron screen connected to the High Altar by a processional corridor demarcated by iron railings (Fig. 9.1). This traditional configuration not only helps to explain the large number of manuscript choirbooks of both polyphony and plainchant that have survived in Spain, but also the production of printed choirbooks of

7 Theodore S. Beardsley, 'Spanish printers and the classics. 1482–1599', *Hispanic Review*, 47 (1979), p. 30; Francine de Nave, 'A printing capital in its ascendancy, flowering and decline', in Jan van der Stock (ed.), *Antwerp. Story of a metropolis, 16th–17th Century* (Ghent, Exhibitions International, 1993), p. 92.

8 Alexander S. Wilkinson, *Iberian Books. Books published in Spain or Portugal or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601* (Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2010), pp. xvii–xviii.

9 See the contribution by Nina Lamal in this volume.

10 As in Florence; see Marcia B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation. Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, 1567–1577* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979).



FIGURE 9.1 *Burgos Cathedral, coro*

sacred music, whether printed in Spain itself or produced abroad for the Spanish trade.

The major centres of production in both Italy and France were important in this context. Rome occupies a position of early importance; it was there that Andrea Antico produced his *Liber quindecim missarum*, a lavish choirbook of 162 leaves, in 1516, using a mixture of woodblocks and metal type. The result is an heroic attempt, realised with considerable artistry and technical skill, to transfer the format, design and visual impact of traditional de-luxe illuminated manuscripts onto the printed page. Antico's true heir was Valerio Dorico, a printer already established in the city before the Sack of 1529. Beginning in 1544, with two volumes of masses by the Spanish composer Cristóbal de Morales (then working in Rome), Dorico printed a series of carefully-designed and well-produced folio choirbooks, using the single-impression method.¹¹ These established the format in the Roman trade and served as models for similar volumes produced not only by his heirs but by Domenico Basa,

¹¹ Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico. Music printer in sixteenth-century Rome* (Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1981).

Alessandro Gardano, Francesco Zanetti and others.¹² In Venice, choirbook production was never a significant aspect of the trade. Antonio Gardano, who began printing music in 1538, did not produce a folio choirbook until 1562, when both an edition of magnificats by Morales and a volume of masses by Kerle appeared from his press.¹³ Girolamo Scotto, his principal competitor in the Venetian trade, did not print any of his titles of sacred music in choirbook format, though he did use it for other repertories.¹⁴ In Paris Pierre Attaignant produced just one series of visually spectacular choirbooks, but the real centre of French choirbook production in the first half of the century was Lyon.¹⁵

There the growth of the book trade was spectacular, and by 1545 there were 29 bookshops and 65 printing houses at work in the city.¹⁶ Critical for this development was the capital provided by the Florentine banking community.¹⁷ Also of importance were the quarterly book fairs, first held in 1474, just one year after the first book was printed in Lyon.¹⁸ By the end of the fifteenth century Lyon had become established as a major centre of book production, second only to Paris in terms of the French internal market, and by 1515 there were 19 book shops in the city and 20 printing-houses.¹⁹ Among them was the workshop of Jacques Moderne, who began to print polyphonic music in 1532.²⁰ In the course of his thirty-year career in the trade, he printed some 50 books of music including a number of choirbooks, and it was these in particular that found favour in the Iberian market. This is evident from inventories as well as surviving copies, since only a handful of Moderne's choirbooks are still

12 Iain Fenlon, *Music, print and culture in early sixteenth-century Italy* (London, The British Library, 1994), pp. 53–59.

13 Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian music printer 1538–1569. A descriptive bibliography and historical study* (3 vols., New York and London, Garland Publishing/Routledge, 1988–2005), vol. 3, nos. 297 (Kerle) and 304 (Morales).

14 See Jane A. Bernstein, *Music printing in Renaissance Venice. The Scotto press (1539–1572)* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 68, where it is noted that the only book produced by Scotto in choirbook arrangement, the *Villancicos de diversos autores* of 1556 (in upright quarto), is the only book of Spanish-texted music to be published in sixteenth-century Venice.

15 Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant. Royal printer of music. A historical study and bibliographical catalogue* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969), nos. 33–39.

16 Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI^e siècle. Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520 – environs de 1580)* (2 vols., Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971), vol. I, p. 307.

17 Richard Gascon in *Histoire du Lyon et du Lyonnais* (Toulouse, Privat, 1975), p. 135.

18 For the fairs see Marc Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Picard, 1914), and Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, particularly Part 1, Chapter 2.

19 Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, vol. I, p. 307.

20 See Samuel F. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne. Lyon music printer of the sixteenth century* (Geneva, Droz, 1969).

preserved in Spanish libraries. For example, one of the two copies copy of his 1546 edition of Morales's *Missarum liber primus* in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona is unfortunately incomplete, defaced and bound in modern velum; nonetheless, a fragmentary list of names, some Catalan, indicates that it was probably somewhere in the local area, if not in Barcelona itself, certainly by the later part of the century.²¹ More interesting is an otherwise unrecorded Moderne edition of Morales's *Liber primus missarum*, printed in 1548, preserved in the library of the monastery in Montserrat.²² Although nothing is known of its provenance the binding is clearly Spanish, and the book shows clear signs of use.²³ A second Moderne *unicum*, again a folio choirbook, is preserved in the Museu Diocesà in Lleida, bound together with two other Moderne choirbooks in a contemporary Spanish binding. The first, a damaged copy of the 1546 edition of the Morales *Missarum liber primus*,²⁴ is followed by the 1551 printing of the composer's *Missarum liber secundus*,²⁵ and finally by an incomplete copy of the unique copy of the 1552 edition of his magnificats, first published by Moderne two years earlier.²⁶ An inscription in an early hand in the first of these (fol. 97) reads "Josephus Torres mestre de Juneda", and according to a nineteenth-century inscription and book label pasted onto the inside upper cover, the volume originally came from the village of that name, which lies about 25 kilometres to the southeast of Lleida.²⁷ This book is of interest not merely as the only known surviving copy of a Moderne edition, but also as testimony to the taste for polyphonic music in a provincial rural town. As such

21 The list of names occurs in f. 150v. The *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, Series A I (henceforward RISM) M3580 incorrectly records this as one of two incomplete copies of the Dorico edition. A second copy (also in the Biblioteca de Catalunya) of the same edition, also sadly incomplete and in a modern binding, contains the name of an early owner, Felipe Olivello.

22 Gregori M. Sunyol, 'Cronica', *Analecta Montserratensia*, 1 (1919), pp. 337–346.

23 RISM MM3581 records the copy but assumes the date to be 1546, and does not list an edition of 1548. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, pp. 191–194, lists editions of 1545 and 1546, but has no entry for a 1548 edition.

24 RISM M3581, which erroneously records an incomplete copy of the Dorico edition [M3580]; see Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, p. 194, no. 48.

25 RISM MM3583, which records this copy; also recorded in Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, pp. 201–203, no. 55.

26 This edition is not recorded in RISM, but is listed in Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, p. 203, no. 56, where it is described as a unique copy of a later edition of M3595 [=RISM 1550⁴].

27 The historic centre of Juneda, the Pou del Gel, dates from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but the parish church, the most likely provenance of the volume, was constructed in 1740.

it adds to the impression derived from inventories that polyphony was performed in more modest environments such as the collegiate churches in Orihuela²⁸ and Daroca.²⁹ Moderne's music books also reached Portugal, much of whose trade was with northern Europe, particularly Antwerp where a sizeable colony of expatriates was based. Books (including music) from the major printing houses in northern Europe were transported to Lisbon in considerable quantities, and from there found their way into libraries both in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies.³⁰ It is largely from manuscript sources of polyphony from the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra that a number of printed books that must have been at one time in the library there can be identified; they include books printed in Antwerp, Louvain, Rome and Venice.³¹ To these should now be added the recently identified copy of the 1546 Moderne edition of the Morales *Missarum liber primus* which was originally from the monastery.³² These survivals represent a ghostly historical trace of Moderne's trade in choirbooks with the Iberian peninsula.³³

The cosmopolitan character of Lyon, with its substantial communities of Italian and German merchants, was undoubtedly an important element in the development of its printing and publishing trades, but the single most important factor was its geographical position. Situated at the crossroads of one of the busiest trade routes in Western Europe, the city was conveniently connected with both the major urban centres of Germany and the Swiss Confederation to

- 28 The collegiate church in Orihuela, near Alicante, had a copy of the *Liber quindecim missarum*, two books of masses by Morales in either the Dorico or Moderne editions, a copy of the Colin *Liturgicon* in either the Nicola da Chemin or the Moderne edition, and the *Liber octo missarum* (Lyon, Moderne, 1541). See Esperanza Rodríguez García, 'El repertorio polifónico de la colegiata de Orihuela según un inventario de mitad del siglo XVI', *Anuario musical*, 63 (2008), pp. 3–24.
- 29 For Daroca see Pedro Calahorra Martínez, 'Dos inventarios de los siglos XVI y XVII en el colegial de Daroca y dos pequeñas crónicas darocenses', *Revista de musicología*, III (1980), pp. 33–75. In 1635 the institution owned printed choirbooks of music by Palestrina and Victoria.
- 30 As, for example, in the case of Goa, for which see Victor A. Coelho, 'Music in New Worlds', in Tim Carter & John Butt (eds.), *The Cambridge history of seventeenth-century music* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 88–110, particularly pp. 98–104.
- 31 Owen Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530–c.1620. Sources from the monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York/London, Garland, 1995), pp. 87–97.
- 32 The book was sold as lot 149 in an auction conducted at the Swann Auction Gallery, New York, on 17 October 2011. I am grateful to Bernadette Nelson for alerting me to this, and to Michael Noone for confirming that the volume is now the property of Boston College.
- 33 For a detailed discussion see Iain Fenlon, 'Jacques Moderne's choirbooks and the Iberian music trade' (forth.).

the east, and those of the Italian peninsula to the south. In addition, proximity to the Loire provided easy access to the Atlantic and to the sea routes that connected Nantes on the Brittany coast to the Cantabrian coast, which together with Bilbao in the Pays-Basque formed an important commercial artery.³⁴ Bales of books from Lyon were transported along this route,³⁵ which in turn was connected to an internal road system that linked it to Valladolid, Burgos, Medina del Campo and the university town of Salamanca in northern Castile. Burgos was not only the hub of the Cantabrian wool trade, but also the centre of the printing operation of one branch of the Giunta family. The economy of Burgos was closely linked to that of Medina, home of the most important Spanish trade.³⁶ This north–south trade-route also extended to Antwerp, carrying fruit and spices, iron manufactures, leather goods and, above all, wool; at the height of its prosperity it is said to have been surpassed only by that of the Indies trade.³⁷ Spanish and Portuguese merchants were involved in a lively trade with Antwerp, which, in addition to books produced locally, also transported quantities of titles from Venice, Lyon and Paris.³⁸

The Atlantic route then continued to Seville, the most important port for the transport of merchandise of all kinds to the Spanish colonies in the Americas.³⁹ Flemish printers, publishers and booksellers maintained agents in Seville such as Juan Lippeo; at his death in 1582 more than a third of his stock was imported from France, and more than half of that was printed in Lyon.⁴⁰

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- 34 Henri Lapeyre, *Un famille de marchands, les Ruiz* (Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Etudes, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1955), pp. 170–179.
 - 35 Marta de la Mano Gonzalez, *Mercaderes e impresores de libros en la Salamanca del siglo XVI* (Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 1998), pp. 200–204.
 - 36 Manuel Basas Fernandez, 'Relaciones economicas de Burgos con Medina del Campo en el siglo XVI', in Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Medina del Campo y su tierra auge de las ferias decadencia de Medina* (3 vols., Valladolid, Ayuntamiento de Medina del Campo, 1986), vol. II, pp. 437–479.
 - 37 William D. Phillips, 'Spain's northern shipping industry in the XVIth century', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 17 (1988), pp. 267–301.
 - 38 Exports from Antwerp to the Iberian peninsula in 1553 included four clavichords, 15 harpsichords, eight lutes, 61 monochords, seven organs and quantities of books; see Jan-Albert Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes a Anvers* (Louvain, Université de Louvain, 1925), pp. 295–306.
 - 39 For an introduction see Ruth Pike, *Enterprise and adventure. The Genoese in Seville and the opening of the New World* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 42–47 and 48–83.
 - 40 See Klaus Wagner, 'Flamencos en el comercio del libro en España. Juan Lippeo, mercador de libros y agente de los Bellère de Amberes', in Pedro M. Catedra et al. (eds.), *El libro antiguo español VI. De libros, librerías, imprentas y lectores* (Salamanca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), pp. 431–486.

While some of the books destined for the New World came directly from Flanders, others were supplied by foreign merchant-publishers based in Medina del Campo, Valladolid and Salamanca.⁴¹ Contacts between merchants operating at the fairs in Lyon and Medina, the twin poles of an important commercial artery were strong, and many traders or their factors worked in both places.⁴² As the home of the Spanish court, until Philip II established Madrid as his capital in 1560, nearby Valladolid was also of considerable importance both culturally and politically, and after Charles V established his principal residence there an influx of government officials, courtiers and members of the aristocracy greatly enriched the texture of urban life.⁴³ While some books from Lyon reached Medina del Campo via Nantes,⁴⁴ others were transported down the Rhone to the Mediterranean and then on to Barcelona and Valencia, the two most important ports on the eastern seaboard.⁴⁵ Booksellers in both cities, such as Juan Guardiola in Barcelona, bought books from Lyon directly as well as commissioning editions from printers working there.⁴⁶

Although the impact on the Spanish market of choirbooks printed abroad was considerable, it was not absolute. Beginning in the mid-1530s, printers working in Spain also made occasional incursions into the market for books of polyphony.⁴⁷ This sense of testing the water is characteristic of the first phase

41 Carlos Alberto González Sánchez & Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *Orbe tipografico. El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón, Ediciones Trea, 2003), p. 72.

42 See many of the documents published in Felipe Ruiz Martín, *Lettres marchandes échangées entre Florence et Medina del Campo* (Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Études, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965).

43 Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid en el Siglo de Oro. Una ciudad de Castilla y su entorno agrario en el siglo XVI* (Valladolid, Ayuntamiento de Valladolid, 1989).

44 See Lapeyre, *Une famille des marchands*, pp. 567–573, which deals with French printer-publishers and their factors operating in Medina del Campo in the second half of the century.

45 Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, vol. 1, pp. 104–106, 118–119, 164–165; Miguel Peña Díaz, *Cataluña en el Renacimiento. Libros y lenguas (Barcelona, 1473–1600)* (Lleida, Editorial Milenio, 1966), pp. 96–103; and Pierre Berger, *Libro y lectura en el Valencia de Renacimiento* (2 vols., Valencia, Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987), vol. I, pp. 272–273.

46 For general accounts of Guardiola see Miguel Peña, 'Librería y edición en la Barcelona des XVI. El librero-editor Joan Guardiola', *Manuscripts*, 9 (1991); Miguel Peña, 'Un librero-editor en la Barcelona del XVI. Juan Guardiola', in José Hinojosa Mintalvo & Jesus Pradella Nadal (eds.), 1490. *En el umbral de la modernidad. El mediterraneo europeo y las ciudades en el transito de lossiglos XV–XVI* (2 vols., Valencia, Generalitat Valenciana, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 312–331; Peña, *Cataluña en el Renacimiento*, pp. 97–100, 201.

47 For a short-title catalogue of books of music printed in Iberia between 1536 and 1648 see Iain Fenlon & Tess Knighton (eds.), *Early music printing and publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel, Reichenberger, 2006), pp. 329–339.

of Spanish music printing; following Luys Milan's *El maestro*, printed in 1535/1536, six further books of music for vihuela were produced by a number of different presses working in four different cities over a forty-year period.⁴⁸ Also typical is the fact that these volumes, some of which are of considerable technical complexity, were not produced by specialist printers, but rather by general ones for whom music was a peripheral aspect of their operations.

Martin de Montesdoca produced the first choirbook to be printed in Spain, the *Agenda defunctorum*, in 1556.⁴⁹ Composed by Juan Vasquez, this contains sections of chant and polyphony, both of which occur in his settings of Matins, Lauds and the Burial Service, and has as its focal point a complete polyphonic setting of the Requiem Mass.⁵⁰ From the length of the book down to its format and typographical layout the result is a novelty in the Spanish trade (Fig. 9.2). Vasquez was probably in Seville at this time (he is recorded there in the service of a member of the nobility); the emphasis upon the work of a local composer is characteristic of much Spanish music printing of the period.⁵¹ Following Montesdoca's only excursion into the choirbook market there was then a pause of some 40 years before the format was taken up again in Spain, this time not by a provincial printer but rather as an aspect of the operations of the *Typographia Regia*, established by Philip II as a vehicle for the display of royal patronage and propaganda.⁵²

Alonso Gomez, who styled himself as "bookseller in the Royal Court", was the first printer to set up a press in Madrid. This was in 1566, just a few years after the city had been founded as the new capital of Spain.⁵³ There is no evidence that Gomez received a royal warrant, and in practice it was not until 1593, when Julio Junti Modesti, a member of the prestigious pan-European printing and publishing dynasty, was invited by Philip to transfer his operations from Salamanca, that a royal press was established.⁵⁴ According to a later

48 John Griffiths, 'Printing the art of Orpheus. Vihuela tablatures in sixteenth-century Spain', in Fenlon & Knighton (eds.), *Early music printing*, pp. 181–214.

49 Klaus Wagner, *Martin de Montesdoca y prensa. Contribución al estudio de la imprenta y de la bibliografía sevillanas del siglo XVI* (Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 1982).

50 See Appendix I, no.1.

51 Vasquez's *Villancicos i canciones* (Osuna, Juan de Leon, 1555) is dedicated to Don Antonio de Zuñiga; see E. Russell, 'The patrons of Juan Vasquez. A biographical contribution', *Analecta Musicologica*, XXVI (1973), pp. 61–74.

52 For Philip II's use of the press see Fernando Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II* (Madrid, Ediciones Akal, 1998), particularly Chapter V.

53 Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda*, pp. 137–138.

54 Consolación Morales Borrero, *La imprenta real de Madrid desde su fundación hasta fines del siglo XVII* (Madrid, Artes graficas municipales, 1976), p. 76. For the most detailed



FIGURE 9.2 *Juan Vásquez, Agenda defunctorum* (Seville, Martin de Montesdoca, 1556), title-page (VALLADOLID, ARCHIVO DE MÚSICA DE LA CATEDRAL)

witness, Julio was chosen because he owned an imposing set of matrices, including Greek and Hebrew alphabets, together with all the fonts necessary for printing liturgical books with quadratic notation, superior presses imported from abroad and a team of excellent workmen both Spanish and foreign. At this stage there was no stipend attached to the post, and the title of “Impresor del Rey” was assigned to Julio’s nephew Tomás de Junta, even though Julio himself retained overall control of the business. The earliest books to be printed by Tomás under this arrangement date from 1594, and his name continued to appear on editions issued by the *Typographia Regia* until 1596, after which most of the books printed by the Press carry colophons signed by Juan Flamenco, the foreman of the workshop. A native of the Low Countries, Juan was to continue as foreman of the Royal Press until his death in 1612, overseeing the printing of some 160 titles. These include the 1600 edition of the *Missale romanum*, said by Cristóbal Pérez Pastor to be the most expertly printed and luxurious book printed by the Royal Press in the course of its history.⁵⁵ Works by Albertus Magnus, Saint Augustine (*The Confessions*) and an *Officia propria* for the Diocese of Oviedo were among the first books to carry Juan’s signature in their colophons. The latter was the first of what was to become one of the most prominent genres of material produced by the Press, and the following year brought further editions of liturgies and rituals including books for the Hieronymites, the Order of St. Anthony of Vienne, offices for Burgos and for Avila and, most ambitiously, a four volume Gradual, *Proprium missarum de tempore*. Together with a number of devotional texts by Teresa de Jesús (Teresa of Avila), whose writings were to become another staple and an edition of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, these choices underscore Phillip II’s determination to represent himself as the ultimate defender of the Faith.

It is in this context that the decision was taken to print a number of monumental choirbooks, beginning with Philippe Rogier’s *Missae sex*. Recruited from his native Flanders as a boy treble for Philip II’s chapel in 1572, Rogier spent the rest of his career in Madrid, eventually serving as *maestro de capilla*. Following his death in 1596, his testamentary instructs that a volume containing

account of the Royal Press, with much previously unpublished documentation, see now W. Pettas, *A history and bibliography of the Giunti (Junta) printing family in Spain 1526–1628* (New Castle, Delaware, Oak Knoll Press, 2005), pp. 67–77.

55 Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña o descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid, 1566–1625* (3 vols., Madrid, 1891–1907), vol. I, no. 700. The copy that Pérez Pastor consulted, the only one to be recorded, was almost certainly destroyed during the Civil War; see Antonio Odriozola, *Catálogo de libros litúrgicos, españoles y portugueses, impresos en los siglos XV y XVII* (Pontevedra, Museo de Pontevedra, 1996), No. 149.

five of his masses be printed, a project for which Philip II had promised his support. This was brought to completion by his pupil and *vicemaestro*, Géry de Ghersem, who in the process added a mass of his own.⁵⁶ With its opening work (which makes use of the traditional and authoritative device of the *soggetto cavato*) and a dedication to Philip III (who had recently succeeded to the title), the *Missae sex* is an ambitious attempt to produce a Spanish equal to the Italian and Flemish choirbooks which had been circulating in the country for decades, while at the same time honouring the monarch. Rogier's volume was followed by two volumes containing sacred music by Victoria and Alfonso Lobo respectively and then by Victoria's *Officium defunctorum*, brought out in 1605. Thereafter he stopped. As so often in the history of early Spanish music printing, the printing career of Juan Flamenco was short-lived; his entry into the market was a brief if initially ambitious enterprise, in this case apparently designed to advertise and make available the reportorial riches of the Spanish Royal Chapel to a wider audience. Following the appearance of Victoria's *Officium defunctorum*, the focus of Spanish choirbook production shifted to Salamanca and to the activities of Artus Taberniel, a printer and type-caster from Flanders, who is documented in the city for the first time in 1588.

Beginning in 1602, Taberniel ran a modest printing operation, capable of producing on average about three books per year. His choice of material included González Dávila's *Historia de las antiquesdades de la ciudad de Salamanca*, which would have had a virtually guaranteed sale among the university and clerical elites of the city, a number of devotional texts and the *Constituciones* of the church synod held in the cathedral in September 1604.⁵⁷ For his printing of Martino Rio's edition of Saint Orientius, brought out in the same year, Taberniel introduced an elegant allegorical printer's mark, based on Italian practice.⁵⁸ Thereafter Taberniel seems to have changed tack, and apart from a couple of exceptions does not seem to have been concerned with purely literary texts, presumably because he was more or less fully occupied with printing five choirbooks, his main concern in the years 1607–10.

He began with a volume of magnificats by Sebastián Vivanco, appointed *maestro de capilla* at Salamanca Cathedral in 1602, and the successful competitor in the following year for a chair in the university. Vivanco's achievement in

56 Lavern J. Wagner, 'Some considerations on Plantin's printing of De La Hèle's *Octo Missae*', *Die Gulden Passer*, 64 (1986), pp. 58–59.

57 *Constituciones synodales, copiadas por Luis Fernandez de Cordova* (Salamanca, A. Taberniel, 1606).

58 Francisco Vindel, *Escudos y marcas de impresores y libreros en España durante los siglos XV a XIX (1485–1850)* (Barcelona, Editorial Orbis, 1942), p. 323.

obtaining these prestigious professional posts is prominently advertised on the title-page, which also includes an engraving showing the composer offering a closed book, lettered on its covers with the words “DONVM DE DONIS TVIS”, kneeling in front of a simple altar whose only decoration is a standing crucifix (Fig. 9.3). This ties the title-page to the dedication on the verso, which is a prose continuation and amplification of the iconography of the title-page engraving. Of earthly patrons there is no sign.⁵⁹

That is not true of the two choirbooks, one containing masses the other motets that Taberniel devoted to the music of Juan Esquivel Barahona. A native of nearby Ciudad Rodrigo, Esquivel had been appointed as *maestro de capilla* at the cathedral by the time that the first of Taberniel's two choirbooks was published.⁶⁰ Only one incomplete copy is known to have survived,⁶¹ but the title-page engraving from a complete example, offered for sale by the Munich antiquarian Ludwig Rosenthal at the beginning of the twentieth century, has been partially reproduced; it shows the composer kneeling in front of an altar, on which stands a retablo of the virgin and child.⁶² The design is similar to that of Vivanco's *Liber magnificarum*. In the same year Taberniel also published a collection of Esquivel's motets.⁶³ No doubt he intended to follow these with a third book devoted to psalms, hymns and magnificats, but in the end the work was printed by Francesco de Cea Tesa, who brought it out some three years after Taberniel's death.⁶⁴ Nothing is known to have been printed by Artus in the course of 1609, but at some juncture he printed a further volume of music by Vivanco, this time containing a sequence of motets. Only two copies survive,⁶⁵ but unfortunately both lack title-page and colophon. The next books known to have come from Taberniel's press in 1610 were printed by his widow.⁶⁶

Evidently Taberniel began to plan his choirbook series without any previous experience of music printing, and without suitable fonts immediately to hand;

59 See Appendix I, no. 6.

60 'Esquivel, Juan Barahona, Juan (de)', in *The new Grove dictionary*, vol. 8, pp. 325–326.

61 See Appendix I, no. 7.

62 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (17 vols., Kassel and Basel, 1949–86), 3, cols. 1538–42, at cols. 1539–40. This copy, whose present whereabouts is unknown, appears as item 153 in Rosenthal's catalogue 807.

63 See Appendix I, no. 9.

64 See Appendix I, no. 11. The only known copy is in the church of Santa Maria la Mayor in Ronda; see Robert J. Snow, *The 1613 print of Juan Esquivel Barahona* (Detroit, 1978), pp. 10–17.

65 See RISM V2251.

66 Namely Dionisio Jubero, *Post Pentecosten*, and Alonso de Salazar, *Fiestas que hizo el insigne Collegio de la Compañia de Jesus*.

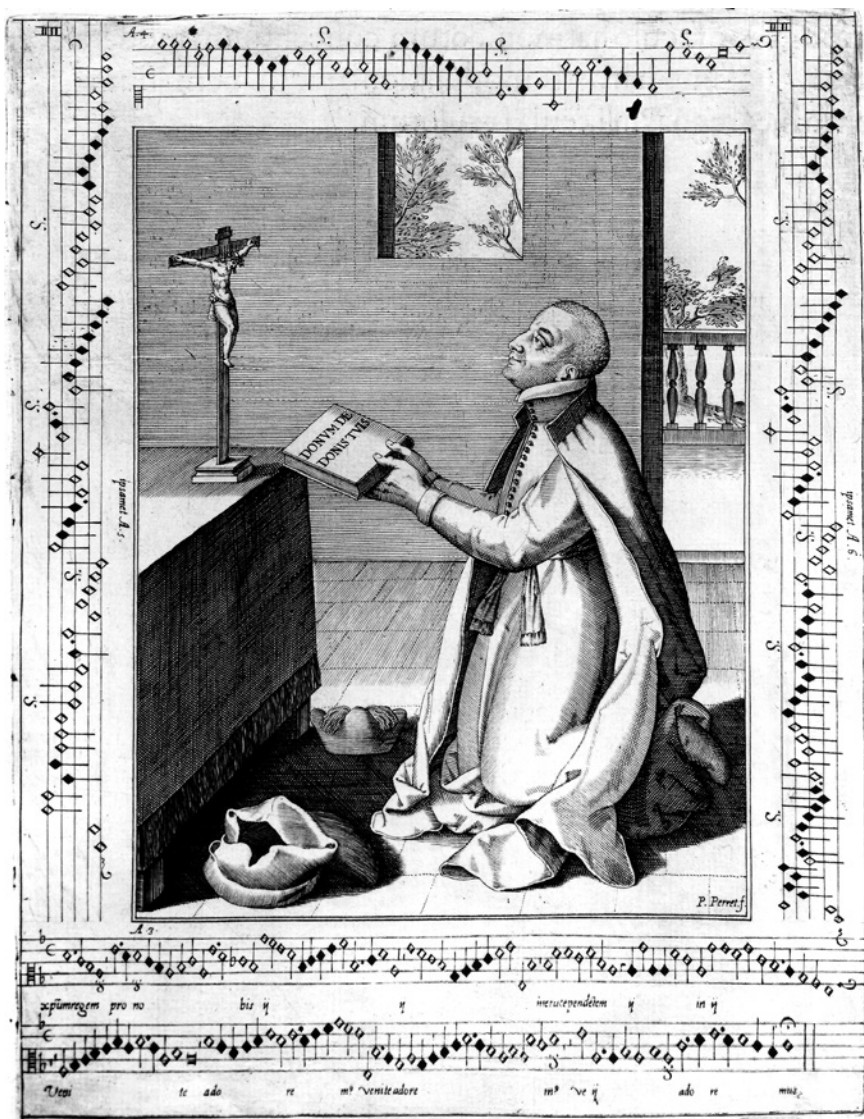


FIGURE 9.3 Sebastián de Vivanco, *Liber magnificarum* (Salamanca, Artus Taberniel, 1607), title-page
NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

these he obtained from the same matrices that had been used to produce the choirbook types used by the *Typographia Regia*. Other influences were also at work. It is clear from the design of Taberniel's title-page to Vivanco's *Liber magnificarum*, and to a lesser extent that of Esquivel's *Missarum liber primus*, that Taberniel had seen a copy either of Antico's volume, or perhaps one of the

Dorico choirbooks that are so clearly based on the iconography of Antico's title-page.⁶⁷ Although only one exemplar still survives in Spain⁶⁸ from a print run of 1,001 copies, it is clear from inventories that the *Liber quindecim missarum* circulated quite widely in the kingdom.⁶⁹ Following a convention established by fifteenth-century manuscripts copied for the papacy, this shows Leo X receiving a music book from a kneeling figure, presumably Antico himself. Open and legible, this volume, perhaps intended to be a stylised representation of the *Liber quindecim missarum* itself, presents a simple canon to the words "Vivat Leo Decimus, Pontifex Maximus". This, or one of Dorico's title-pages based upon it, is clearly the direct ancestor of Taberniel's design.

Taberniel's choirbooks circulated quite widely within Spain and even further afield; a copy of the *Liber magnificarum* even reached Puebla in Mexico where it still survives.⁷⁰ The only other choirbook printed in the peninsula which matches both his publications and those of the *Typographia Regia* in terms of distribution is Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia's *Canticum beatissime Virginis deiparae Mariae* of 1618. This collection of magnificats composed by the organist of Zaragoza Cathedral, was printed in the city with the support of the cathedral chapter.⁷¹ In the preface to the volume, which Aguilera de Heredia dedicated to the chapter in gratitude, he claimed to have produced his own musical type in order to print the book.⁷² Music fonts were hard to come by, and indeed the only other other choirbook to be produced outside Salamanca and Madrid, Miguel Navarro's *Liber Magnificarum*, printed by Carlos de Labayen in Pamplona, uses an otherwise unidentified font. Labayen's output is otherwise largely devoted to devotional and historical works, including lives of the saints and liturgical books; his lone foray into music printing produced a somewhat crude result (Fig. 9.4), and the differences between

67 For the influence of Antico's choirbook on Dorico's mass volumes see Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, pp. 66–73, and Fenlon, *Music, print and culture*, pp. 54–59.

68 Pastrana, Museo parroquial; this copy is unrecorded in RISM series BII under 1516/1.

69 Information about the size of the edition comes from the contract of 20 August 1516 between the bookseller Ottaviano Scotto and Antico; see Catherine W. Chapman, 'Andrea Antico' (Ph. D., Harvard University, 1964), App. III, no. 5a.

70 María Gambero Ustarroz, 'Circulación de libros de música entre España y América (1492–1650): notas para su estudio', in Fenlon & Knighton (eds.), *Early music printing*, p. 172.

71 Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *Historia de la música en Aragón (siglos I–XVII)* (Zaragoza, Librería General, 1977); Pedro Calahorra Martínez, *Música en Zaragoza. Siglos XVI–XVII* (2 vols., Zaragoza, Institución 'Fernando el Católico', 1977–8), I: *Organistas, organeros y órganos*; II: *Polifonistas y ministriles*.

72 Barton Hudson (ed.), *Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia, 'Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Deiparae Mariae'* ([Rome], American Institute of Musicology, 1975), p. xi.



FIGURE 9.4 Miguel Navarro, *Liber magnificarum* (Pamplona, Carolus Labayen, 1614), title-page and fol. A [viii]

TARAZONA, ARCHIVO CAPITULAR DE LA CATEDRAL

Altus. Michaelis Nauarri. Resolutio In Vni sonus. A 6.

Loria Patri & Fi lio &
Filio ij. & Spiritui
fancto ij. ij. fancto

Tenor. Fuga in vni sonus.

Loria Pa tri & Fi lio &
Filio ij. & Spiritui sanc-
to. ij. ij. fancto ij.

Bassus.

Loria Patri & Fi lio. glo.
ria Patri & Filio & fi lio. ij
& spiritui fancto & spi ri tui sanc-
to. ij. sanc to.

the opening gatherings of the two surviving copies suggests a degree of uncertainty in the workshop. Although the book is not dedicated to a secular patron, it was probably an act of local piety since Navarro worked at Pamplona Cathedral.

The loss and destruction of copies of the printed choirbooks that once graced the lecterns of Spanish cathedrals, collegiate churches and even some parish churches, makes it imperative to study inventories and other kinds of

documentation in an attempt to recuperate a more rounded impression of the extent to which they were acquired and used. In cases where inventories have not survived the approach must be oblique. In the archives of Burgos Cathedral, for example, notes of acquisitions occasionally occur in the chapter acts. In September 1541, the Archdeacon of Treviño gave three books of polyphony to the cathedral, including “one of twenty masses and another of fourteen and another of ten”, which a week later were handed over to the then chapel master for safekeeping.⁷³ These books were very probably collections printed in France; Attaingnant’s *Primus liber viginti missarum musicalium* (Paris, 1532) in the case of the first entry, and Moderne’s *Liber decem missarum* in the case of the third. Similarly, documents in the archive of Huesca Cathedral make occasional references to the acquisition of music. Typical is the payment to Victoria “por el libro de canto que habia enviado para la iglesia” in 1593, and the record of 5 October 1618 when the Dean ordered that a book that had been sent by Aguilera (presumably his printed magnificats) to the chapter for its consideration be valued. It was decided that the composer should be paid 150 *reales*, while on the same day it was decided to pay Miguel Navarro 50 *reales* “por el libro de magnificats que ha enviado”, a clear reference to Labayen’s *Liber magnificarum*.⁷⁴ As these scattered references suggest, one of the most common methods for composers living in Spain to distribute their music was by sending copies of their publications for possible purchase.⁷⁵ Two further examples demonstrate the practice. On 6 April 1585, the chapter of Segovia Cathedral decided that 300 *reales* should be paid to Guerrero for the music book he had sent, while on 17 September 1608, it was agreed that 20 *ducados* be paid to Vivanco for the book that he had consigned for consideration.⁷⁶

Beyond such occasional references to the acquisition of music both printed and manuscript, a considerable number of quite detailed sixteenth and early seventeenth-century inventories of institutional music holdings are extant. One such, from Segovia Cathedral is fairly typical. It is instructive to compare it with what can be reconstructed of the music library of Tarazona Cathedral. In addition to the books of music both printed and manuscript that survive

73 José López-Caló, *La música en la catedral de Burgos* (3 vols., Burgos, 1995–96), vol. 3, nos. 347–348.

74 Antonio Durán Gudiol, ‘La capilla de música de la Catedral de Huesca’, *Anuario Musical*, 19 (1964), pp. 54–55.

75 See, for examples relating to Victoria, Alfonso de Vicente, *Tomás Luis de Victoria. Cartas (1582–1606)* (Madrid, Los siglos de oro, 2008).

76 José Lopez-Caló, *Documentario musical de la Catedral de Segovia* (Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), docs. 817 and 1021.

there in the Archivo Capítular,⁷⁷ there are also a number of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century inventories, which amplify the impression of the polyphonic repertory performed in the cathedral.⁷⁸ The most extensive of these, an undated *Memoria de los libros que ay de musica en la Iglesia de Tarazona y de las hobras que ay en ello con los nombres de los auctores*, is based on an apparently lost inventory of 1570. The printed books listed in this inventory (and in some of the earlier inventories, which help to establish a date by which the books had been acquired), and which no longer survive, include a printed book of masses and another of motets by Clemens Non Papa, a volume of five-voice motets by Eliseo Ghibellini and “seis cuadernillos con cubiertas de pergamino de Adriano Viller de motetes estampados de asta beinte y quatro hojas”, that is Willaert’s *Musicorum sex vocum, que vulgo motecta dicuntur... liber primus* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542).⁷⁹ In addition to these sets of partbooks, the inventory also refers to a number of choirbooks, including “un libro impresso de papelon cubierto con cuero blanco yntitulase de las 20 missas y son de dibersos auctores”, which is clearly a reference to the seven books published by Pierre Attaignant in 1532, which together contain a total of 20 masses.⁸⁰ There was also a copy of “un libro con cinco missas estampadas todas de Carpentras con cubiertas de pergamino”, which must be the *Liber primus missarum* printed in Avignon by Jean de Channay in 1532.⁸¹ A final reference in the inventory provides somewhat indirect evidence that at one time the cathedral owned or at least had access to a copy of the Antico *Liber quindecim missarum* of 1516:

Mas ay un libro de cubiertas coloradas de quince missas de dibersos auctores son las siguientes

Vasurto Missa Sancta Trinitas f. 2

Vasurto Missa Rex Pacificus f. 12

Vasurto Motete Popule meus f. 18

Fevin Missa mente tota f. 19

Fevin Missa Ave Maria f. 30

Jusquin Missa de Beata Virgine f. 40

77 For the printed music at Tarazona see Ruiz Izquierdo et al., *Catálogo de libros manuscritos, incunables y de música* (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1984).

78 Transcribed in Pedro Calahorra Martínez, ‘Los fondos musicales en el siglo XVI de la Catedral de Tarazona. I. Inventarios’, *Nasarre*, VIII (1992), pp. 9–56.

79 RISM 1542/10; Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, pp. 343–347.

80 Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, nos. 33–9, pp. 245–249.

81 RISM G1571.

- Jusquin Missa faisant regret f. 55
 Brumel Missa pro defunctis f. 65
 Brumel Missa en l'ombre dimus buissonnet f. 72
 Picon del arrue Missa O salutaris Hostia f. 76
 Pipelare Missa l'homme arme f. 81
 Monton Missa dictem moi tonten f. 94
 Petrus Roselli Missa baise moi f. 109
 Jusquin Missa ad fugam f. 117
 Brumel Missa de Beata Virgine f. 128
 Jusquin Missa dominicalis f. 145

The contents of what must have been a manuscript compilation substantially correspond to Antico's choirbook: the three Brumel Masses, three of the four Josquin Masses (not the *Missa dominicalis*) and the Masses by Fevin, La Rue, Mouton and Roselli are all to be found in the *Liber quindecim missarum*. Missing from the inventory description of Antico's book are further Masses by Fevin (*Missa de Feria*), La Rue (*Missa Ave Maria*) and Mouton (*Missa Alma redemptoris mater*), while the extra Josquin item and the two Masses and one motet attributed to Basurto (*maestro de capilla* 1517–21) were clearly added from other sources. As these examples demonstrate (and others could be adduced), the printed polyphonic choirbook whether produced in Spain or elsewhere was an essential element in the musico-liturgical practices of many Spanish ecclesiastical institutions in the early modern period.

Appendix I: Polyphonic Choirbooks Printed in Spain, 1556–1622

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Juan Vásquez | Agenda defunctorum
Seville: Martín de Montesdoca, 1556.
RISM: V996 |
| 2 | Philippe Rogier | Missae sex
Madrid: Typographia Regia, 1598.
RISM: R1937 |
| 3 | Alfonso Lobo | Liber primus missarum
Madrid: Typographia Regia, 1602.
RISM: L2588 |
| 4 | Tomás Luis de Victoria | Officium defunctorum: in obitu et obsequiis sacrae imperatricis
Madrid: Typographia Regia, 1605.
RISM: V1436 |
| 5 | Sebastián de Vivanco | Liber magnificorum
Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1607.
RISM: V2249 |
| 6 | Juan Esquivel Barahona | Missarum liber primus
Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1608.
RISM: E825 |
| 7 | Sebastián de Vivanco | Libro de Misas
Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1608.
RISM: V2250 |
| 8 | Juan Esquivel Barahona | Motecta festorum et domenicarum cum communi sanctorum
Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, 1608.
RISM: E826 |
| 9 | Sebastián de Vivanco | [Liber motectorum]
Salamanca: Artus Taberniel, [1610].
RISM: V2251 |

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 10 | Juan Esquivel Barahona | Liber secundus Psalmodum, hymnorum,
Magnificarum
Salamanca: Francisco de Cea, 1613.
RISM: no siglum |
| 11 | Miguel Navarro | Liber magnificarum
Pamplona: Carolus Labayen, 1614.
RISM: N285 |
| 12 | Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia | Canticum beatissimae Virginis
deiparae Mariae
Zaragoza: Petrus Cabarte, 1618.
RISM: A450 |
| <i>Possible lost choirbooks</i> | | |
| 13 | Diego de Bruceña | [Libro de Misas y Vísperas]
Salamanca: Susana Muñoz, 1620 |
| 14 | Sebastián Aguilera de Heredia | [Liber missarum]
s.l., 1622 |

Appendix II: Segovia Cathedral: An Inventory of c.1620⁸²

Inventario de los libros que tiene la escuela de los moços de choro y tiene el maestro Jo de leon por su quenta...Memoria de los libros que se entrega al maestro Juo de Leon son los siguientes:⁸³

- [1] Primeramente vn libro de missas del mo lobo [RISM L2588].
- [2] otro libro de bibanco de bezerro negro de misas [RISM V2250].
- [3] otro del mismo de magnificas enquadernado en beçerro n[egr]o [RISM V2249].
- [4] otro enquadernado en pergamino de diferentes autores de missas y lamentaciones es todo de pergamino nuevo
- [5] otro libro de pergamino nuevo de psalmodias y misas de diferentes autores
- [6] otro de pergamino de missas nuevo de diferentes autores

⁸² I am grateful to Pablo Rodriguez for sharing his transcription of this document.

⁸³ On 5 October 1620, it was decided 'que se aderecen los libros de canto grandes del coro'. This may relate to a listing of the books undertaken after the appointment of Juan de León as *maestro de capilla* in February 1620. See Lopez-Calo, *Documentario musical*, nos. 1183 and 1171.

- [7] otro de Phelipe Rugero de missas nuevo de becerro amarillo [RISM R1937].
- [8] otros dos libros desquibel vno de missas y otro de motetes [in margin: “falta el de misas”] [RISM E825 and E826].
- [9] otro libro de morales de magnificas [RISM 3597].
- [10] otros dos libros de missas de morales [RISM M3580 and M3582 (Rome) or M3581 and M3583 (Lyon)].
- [11] otro libro de morales de difuntos afforardo en negro [RISM 3582 (Rome) or M3583 (Lyon), both of which contain the *Missa Pro defunctis*].
- [12] quatro libros de Palestrina [marginal note: “falta uno”].
- [13] otro libro de palestrina adonde esta la missa de ut re mi fa sol la [in margin: “falta”] [probably RISM P664].
- [14] otro libro de Jusquin de misas
- [15] otro libro de Robledo de missa y salves
- [16] otro libro de motetes de diferentes autores viejo
- [17] otro libro nuevo de pergamino acafracado [sic] de aguiera [RISM A450].
- [18] otro libro de motetes de diferentes autores
- [19] otros tres libros de guerrero dos de missas y otro de magnificas [in margin: “falta uno”] [RISM G4872 (Bk.2) or G4873].
- [20] otro libro de himnos de Palestrina [probably RISM P737, P738 or P739, *Hymni totius anni...* (Rome, 1589; Venice, 1589 or Venice, 1590)].
- [21] otro libro que llaman el congrio [sic] de poserrano

Appendix III: Tarazona Cathedral: Printed Choirbooks

The following list includes both surviving titles (most of which are also listed in the early inventories), as well as copies referred to in the inventories but which do not survive. As can be seen from the descriptions below, many of the books show clear signs of use. Taken as a whole, the list shows the fundamental importance of printed choirbooks for the performance of polyphony at the cathedral.

AGUILERA DE HEREDIA, Sebastián: [Liber canticorum Magnificat beatissimae virginis Deiparae Mariae octo modis seu tonis compositum, quaternis vocibus, quinis, senis et octonis concinendum] [Zaragoza: Petrus Cabarte, 1618]. Lacks title-page.

GUERRERO, Francisco: Missarum liber secundus (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1582).

MORALES, Cristóbal de: [Missarum liber primus], col.: Rome: Valerio & Ludovico Dorico, 1544. Lacks title-page.

NAVARRO, Juan: [Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni, secundum ritum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quatuor, quinque ac sex vocibus concinendi, necnon Beatae Virginis Dei genitricis Mariae diversorum temporum antiphonae in finem horarum dicendae] [Rome: Jacobi Torneri, 1590]. Lacks title-page, all before Avii and all after fol.153.

NAVARRO, Miguel: Liber magnificarum, quatuor vocibus, cum versibus senis, septenis, ac octonis et fugis duobus, tribus et quatuor simul concinnatis (Pamplona: Caroli a Labayen, 1614).

PALESTRINA, Giovanni Pierluigi da: [Hymni totius anni, secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem, quatuor vocibus concinendi, necnon hymni religionum (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1589). Lacks fols.1–45, 48, 61, 64, 66, 69–70, 73–73, 82, 100, 105, 107–109, 121 (half page only), 122 and all after 123.

PALESTRINA, Giovanni Pierluigi da: Missarum liber quintus, quatuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus concinendarum (Rome: Jacobi Berichiae apud Francesco Coattino, 1590). Lacks fols.54–55, 106–110 and everything after fol.146.

VICTORIA, Tomás Luis de: [Hymni totius anni, secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem, qui quatuor concinuntur vocibus, una cum quatuor psalmis, pro festivitibus, qui octo vocibus modulantur], col.: Rome: Ex typographia Domenico Basa. Francesco Zanetti, 1581. Lacks title-page.

VICTORIA, Tomás Luis de: [Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat quatuor vocibus Una cum quatuor antiphonis Beatae Virginis per annum: quae quidem, partim quinis, partim octonis vocibus concinuntur], col.: Rome: Ex typographia Domenico Basa/ Francesco Zanetti, 1581. Lacks title-page.

VICTORIA, Tomás Luis de: [Missarum libro duo quae partim quaternis, partim quinis, partim senis concinuntur vocibus], col.: Rome: Ex typographia Domenico Basa/ Alessandro Gardano, 1583. Lacks title-page.

VICTORIA, Tomás Luis de: [Officium hebdomadae sanctae], col.: Rome: ex typographia Domenico Basa/ Alessandro Gardano, 1585. Lacks title-page.

VICTORIA, Tomás Luis de: [Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi sanctorum quae partim senis, partim quinis, partim quaternis, alia octonis vocibus concinuntur], col.: Rome: Ex typographia Domenico Basa/ Alessandro Gardano, 1585.

VICTORIA, Tomás Luis de: [Missae quatuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinendae, una cum antiphonis Asperges et Vidi aquam totius anni, liber secundus], col.: Rome: Ex typographia Ascanio Donangeli/ Francesco Coattino, 1592.

Publishing Military Books in the Low Countries and in Italy in the Early Seventeenth Century

Nina Lamal

Introduction

In the sixteenth century the book market experienced a period of rapid expansion and internationalisation.¹ In this competitive market printer-publishers had to take decisions as to which books could be successful and therefore profitable.² Some publishers chose to specialise in the publication of specific genres or different languages. Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, one of the most prominent Venetian printer-publishers in the second half of the sixteenth century, is well known for publishing vernacular literature.³ Together with the printer Tomaso Porcacchi, Giolito engaged in a unique and ambitious publishing venture. Between 1563 and 1570 they published a *Collona Historica*, a series of translations of Greek historians. The purpose of the collection was to offer insight into warfare. Therefore the translations were accompanied by *Gioie*, explanatory compendia.⁴ Ancient military texts were of great interest to military men for their insights into recruitment, discipline and morale. One of the first classical and military texts to be made available in print was *De Re Militari* of the late fourth century writer Flavius Vegetius Renatus.⁵ Vegetius's discourse on Roman military tactics was first published in Utrecht in 1473. It was printed in Latin and later translated and published in different European cities throughout the whole of the sixteenth century.⁶ In the first half of the

- 1 Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, Yale, 2010); Ian MacLean, *Learning and the market place. Essays in the history of the early modern book* (Leiden, Brill, 2009).
- 2 Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, commerce, religion. The learned book in the ages of confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 113–115.
- 3 Angela Nuovo & Chris Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del xvi secolo* (Geneva, Droz, 2005), p. 68.
- 4 Nuovo & Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa*, pp. 460–462, 487–488.
- 5 Christopher Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius. The reception, transmission and legacy of a Roman text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 239–248.
- 6 Allmand, *The De Re Militari*, p. 239. Between 1473 and 1598 Vegetius's text was published 49 times.

sixteenth century, warfare experienced a considerable evolution and Italy became the seat for technical and military innovations.⁷ These transformations were codified in numerous new military treatises on firearms, fortifications, tactics and military discipline, written by Italian officers, engineers or architects.⁸ Venice took the lead in the publication of military works and dominated both the Italian and the European book market.⁹ Books dealing with military subjects were immensely popular throughout the sixteenth century. With the publication of the *Collona*, Giolito seized upon the market demand. Specialisation and ambitious projects, such as the *Collana*, often required high capital investment. Rather than specialising, Giolito's editorial strategy was to publish a vast range of new titles and establish a continuing presence in the book market.¹⁰ Many early modern printers thus faced the question of whether to specialise or to diversify their output.

This essay addresses the question of print specialisation by examining the genre of the military handbook in the early seventeenth century in the Low Countries and in Italy. This genre has exclusively been studied within the field of military history and military theory.¹¹ A notable exception is the essay by John R. Hale on the Venetian dominance in the printing of military handbooks during the sixteenth century.¹² John R. Hale counted 145 books on military matters published in Venice between 1492–1570.¹³ He argues that this

7 For an overview of the debate on the 'military revolution' see Geoffrey Parker, *The military revolution and the rise of the West 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Clifford J. Rogers (ed.), *The military revolution debate. Readings on the military history of early modern Europe* (Boulder, Westview, 1995).

8 The Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) is a global survey of early printing. Military handbooks are catalogued in the database as a separate category. The database can be accessed through its website: <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>. According to the data available in the USTC, half of the publications on warfare were published in Italy in the sixteenth century. See also, Horst De la Croix, 'The literature on fortification in Renaissance Italy', *Technology and Culture*, 4/1 (1963), pp. 38–44; Frédérique Vernier, *Les Armes de Minerve. L'humanisme militaire dans l'Italie du XVIe siècle* (Paris, Presses Universitaires Sorbonne, 1997).

9 Paul Breman, *Books on military architecture printed in Venice. An annotated bibliography* (Goy-houten, Hes & De Graaf, 2001), p. 6.

10 Nuovo & Coppens, *I Giolito e la stampa*, p. 69.

11 For a short historiographical overview for Stuart England, see David R. Lawrence, *The complete soldier. Military books & military culture in early Stuart England* (Leiden, Brill, 2009), pp. 1–17.

12 John R. Hale, 'Printing and the military culture of Renaissance Venice', in John R. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance war studies* (London, Hambledon, 1983), pp. 429–471.

13 Hale, 'Printing and the military culture', p. 429.

extraordinary output of new titles cannot be explained by the overall dominance of the Venetian printing industry. Hale observed a significant lack of specialisation in publishing treatises on warfare by Venetian printers. According to Hale, 31 different printers published the 53 original titles. Moreover, the military books also had no particularly beautiful typography and were mostly printed in quarto or octavo.¹⁴ Hale rightly pointed out the importance of an interested Venetian public for these manuals but he significantly downplayed the role of the printer-publishers and the importance of the pan-European book market. Recent research follows Hale's emphasis on the connection between military books and the larger military culture.¹⁵ Martha Pollak devotes ample attention to the patrons, the authors and the draughtsmen of books on military architecture but does not mention the printer-publishers.¹⁶

In contrast, I am concerned with the printer-publishers of these military books and with the strategies they developed on how to specialise in their production. This article therefore examines the publishing history of three closely connected Italian military treatises that were published in Antwerp by one and the same printer between 1609 and 1611.¹⁷ These military handbooks were printed in Antwerp by Joachim Troгнаesius. In 1609 he published Pompeo Giustiniani's, *Delle Guerre di Fiandra*, an account of the wars in the Low Countries between 1601 and 1609.¹⁸ One year later he printed, *I carichi militari*, a military handbook written by Lelio Brancaccio.¹⁹ In 1611 Lodovico Melzo's manual on the rules of cavalry was printed.²⁰ The publishing history of these three military books followed the same pattern. All three were reprinted both

14 Hale, 'Printing and the military culture', pp. 430–431.

15 Martha D. Pollak, *Cities at war in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010).

16 Pollak, *Cities at war*, p. 62.

17 Anna E.C. Simoni, 'Soldier's Tales. Observations on Italian military books published at Antwerp in the early 17th century', in D. Rhodes & D. Reidy (eds.), *The Italian book 1465–1800* (London, British Library, 1993), pp. 255–290; Anna E.C. Simoni, 'Sans Frontières. Italo-Dutch books 1565–1629', *La Bibliofilia*, CIV (2002), pp. 57–82.

18 Pompeo Giustiniani, *Delle guerre di Fiandra Libri vi di Pompeo Giustiniano del Consiglio di Guerra di S.M.C. e suo Maestro di Campo d'infanteria Italiana posti in luce da Giosepepe Gamurini Gentil'huomo Aretino con le figure delle cose piu notabili* (Antwerp, Troгнаesius, 1609).

19 Lelio Brancaccio, *I carichi militari di fra' Lelio Brancaccio caual. Hierosolomitano del Consiglio collaterale per S.M. cattolica nel Regno di Napoli e suo maestro di campo e consiglier di guerra ne gli Stati di Fiandra* (Antwerp, Troгнаesius, 1610).

20 Lodovico Melzo, *Regole militari del Cavalier Melzo sopra il governo e servitio della cavalleria* (Antwerp, Troгнаesius, 1611).

in Venice and in Milan between 1610 and 1626. The case study looks into the publication of the military books both in the Low Countries and on the Italian peninsula and thus contributes to our understanding of military handbooks as both cultural and commercial products of early modern print culture and of a pan-European book market. Before examining the various editions of the three above-mentioned treatises it is necessary to outline the publication of military books during the sixteenth century in the Low Countries.

Military Books in the Low Countries

The printing of military books did not take off in the Low Countries before the 1580s.²¹ By that time the revolt in the Netherlands had developed into a large European conflict with the involvement of soldiers from all over Europe.²² The Netherlands battle scene was seen as an ideal place to gain experience in modern warfare. The conflict was mainly fought by laying siege to towns and cities. On these occasions one of the most notable achievements of the 'military revolution', the *trace italienne*, was fully put into practice. The Neapolitan officer Lelio Brancaccio described the Low Countries as "the most renowned theatre of Mars that Europe ever had, or by extension the whole world".

In 1579, Plantin published *Discours sur plusieurs points de l'architecture de guerre*, a treatise on military fortifications by Marco Aurelio de Pasino.²³ Plantin published ancient texts and commentaries on warfare. Vegetius's text and several other ancient treatises were edited by the humanist scholar Godescalcus Steewechius and were also published by Plantin in Leiden in 1585.²⁴ Several of the editions had the Antwerp imprint of the Plantin firm, probably to facilitate the books' distribution into the Habsburg monarchy. In 1592 and 1607, the Leiden branch republished Steewechius's commentaries. In 1595, the Plantin firm in Antwerp published Justus Lipsius, *De Militia Romana*,

21 The only military book published in the Low Countries before 1580s was André Oaurnfeindt, *La noble science des joueurs d'espee* (Antwerp, Willem Vosterman, 1528).

22 Geoffrey Parker, *The army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1609. The logistics of Spanish victory and defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972).

23 Marco Aurelio de Pasino, *Discours sur plusieurs poincts de l'architecture de guerre concernant les fortifications tant anciennes que modernes* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1579).

24 Piet Lombaerde, 'Los Tratados de Artillería, guerra y fortificación realizados en los Países Bajos Meridionales. La Difusión en el mundo ibérico e iberoamericano', in E. Stols & W. Thomas (eds.), *Un mundo sobre papel. Libros y grabados flamencos en el imperio hispanoportugués (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Leuven, Acco, 2009), pp. 345–347.

a work on ancient Roman military formations.²⁵ Lipsius's books and ideas on military affairs hugely influenced the military reforms of Willem Lodewijk, Stadholder of Friesland and also of the Prince of Orange, Maurits of Nassau. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Northern Netherlands acquired a leading role in military and tactical thought.²⁶ With the start of the peace negotiations in 1607 between the Republic and the Habsburg monarch, Jacob De Gheyn published a military manual on the exercises of arms in Dutch, German, English and French.²⁷ This manual was a large folio volume containing many engravings on the use of arms.

González de León has countered the common idea of Dutch dominance in the field of military theory by drawing attention to a number of treatises on the ideal officer written by Spanish officers who had fought in the Netherlands.²⁸ Despite the fact that the Antwerp presses had close connections to the Spanish book market, many of these Spanish military treatises were published in Brussels.²⁹ All of the treatises were printed and published by the official court

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- 25 Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Justus Lipsius' *De militia Romana*. Polybius revived or how an ancient historian was turned into a manual of early modern warfare', in K.A. Enenkel, J.L.De Jong & J. De Landtsheer (eds.), *Recreating ancient history. Episodes from the Greek or Roman past in the arts & literature of the early modern period* (Leiden, Brill, 2001), pp. 101–122.
 - 26 Olaf van Nimwegen, *The Dutch army and the military revolutions 1588–1688* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 1–20. See also, Louis Sloos (ed.), *Warfare and the age of printing. Catalogue of the early printed books from before 1801 in Dutch military collections* (Leiden, Brill, 2009).
 - 27 Jacob De Gheyn, *Wapenhandelinge van de Roers, Musquetten ende Spiessen* (The Hague, s.n., 1607). Jacob De Gheyn, *The exercise of arms for calivres, muskettes and pikes* (The Hague, s.n., 1607), Jacob De Gheyn, *Maniement d'armes d'arquebuses, mousquetz et picques* (The Hague, s.n., 1608), Jacob de Gheyn, *Waffenhandlung von der Rören, Musquetten undt Spiessen* (The Hague, s.n., 1608).
 - 28 Fernando González de León, "'Doctors of the military discipline". The technical expertise and the paradigm of the Spanish soldier in the early modern period', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), pp. 61–85. See also, Fernando González de León, *The road to Rocroi. Class, culture and command in the Spanish army of Flanders, 1567–1659* (Leiden, Brill, 2009), pp. 121–140.
 - 29 Dirk Imhof, 'Las ediciones españolas de la Officina Plantiniana. Su comercialización en España y América Latina en los siglos XVII y XVIII', in *Un mundo sobre papel. Libros y grabados flamencos en el imperio hispanoportugués (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, pp. 63–82; Stijn van Rossem, 'La imprenta de los Verdussen y la comercialización de sus libros en el mundo ibérico e iberoamericano', in *Un mundo sobre papel. Libros y grabados flamencos en el imperio hispanoportugués (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, pp. 83–100.

printer Rutger Velpius.³⁰ In 1587 the first book to be published by Velpius was Don Sancho de Londoño's *Discurso sobre la Forma de Reducir la Disciplina Militar a Meyor y Antiquo Estado*.³¹ Velpius published a French translation in 1589.³² In those years, he also reprinted military books, which first had been published in Spain, such as Bernardino de Escalante *Dialogos del arte militar*.³³ This strategy, printing both the Spanish original and the French translation, suggests that the military books were aimed at several markets.³⁴ We can point to the local audience in Brussels and the Low Countries, which included the Spanish noblemen present at the Brussels court, but Velpius also produced the books for the Spanish book market. Several treatises, amongst which the one by Sancho de Londoño and Bernardino de Escalante, were sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair.³⁵ César Manrique Figueroa has shown that Velpius diversified his output of Spanish books.³⁶ Velpius had a diverse output, but nevertheless he established dominance over the market as far as military books were concerned. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, other Brussels printers, such as Jan I Mommaerts, printed Spanish military handbooks, such as Diego Ufano's *Trattado de la artilleria*.³⁷

Just like their Spanish colleagues in the Habsburg army, Italian officers wrote military treatises. Their publications coincide with the proliferation of military manuals in the Dutch Republic. After the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce, which temporarily ended more than 40 years of warfare, several of them composed military manuals. In his dedication to the Archduke Albert, Lodovico Melzo explained that he considered it to be a good pastime to write

30 César Manrique Figueroa, 'Los impresores Bruselenses y su producción dirigida al mercado hispano, siglos XVI–XVII. El caso de la Imprenta del Águila de Oro de Rutger Velpius, Hubert Anthoine-Velpius y la Imprenta de los Mommaert', *Erebea. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 2 (2012), pp. 205–226.

31 González de León, 'Doctors of the military discipline', pp. 65–68.

32 Sancho de Londoño, *Discours sur la forme et maniere qu'on devoit user pour reduire la discipline militaire à meilleur et son ancien estat composé en espagnol par Don Sancho de Londoño, traduit de la langue espagnolle en françois par Cornille de Roosenbourg* (Brussels, Velpius, 1589).

33 Bernardino de Escalante, *Diálogos del Arte Militar* (Sevilla, Andrea Pescioni, 1583). Reprinted by Velpius in 1588 and 1595.

34 Velpius published a French translation of Bernardino de Mendoza's treatises. Bernardino de Mendoza, *Theorique et practique de guerre* (Brussels, Velpius, 1597).

35 *Collectio in unum corpus. Omnium librorum hebraeorum, graecorum, latinorum necnon germanice, italice, gallice, & Hispanice scriptorum, qui in nundinis Francofurtensibus ab anno 1564 usque ad nundinas Autumnales anni 1592* (Frankfurt, Nicolai Bassai, 1592), p. 28.

36 Manrique Figueroa, 'Los impresores Bruselenses y su producción', pp. 214–222.

37 Diego Ufano, *Tratado de la artilleria y uso della platicado por el capitano Diego Ufano en las guerras de Flandes* (Brussels, Jan Mommaerts, 1613).

on the rules of cavalry from his past experiences in warfare. The three military officers certainly were experienced in warfare and were considered by their contemporaries as excellent military commanders. The Neapolitan Lelio Brancaccio, the Genoese Pompeo Giustiniani and the Milanese Lodovico Melzo all had served in the Spanish-Habsburg army under Farnese's governorship (1578–1592).³⁸ All three of them were again present at the three-year-long siege of Ostend (1601–1604) and the subsequent campaigns under another Italian commander, Ambrogio Spinola.

In his *Delle Guerre di Fiandra*, Pompeo Giustiniani described the recent wars in the Low Countries, from 1601 until 1609, but the work was not just a contemporary chronicle. Giustiniani devoted ample attention to the various sieges, most notably to the three-year-long siege of Ostend (1601–1604), with lengthy descriptions of siege warfare, tactics and technical inventions. Gioseppe Gamurini, a Tuscan military engineer, probably wrote the whole book and dedicated it to Ambrogio Spinola. 29 engravings of besieged towns and new technical devices, such as the inventions of Roman military engineer Pompeo Targone, illustrated the text.

The aim of military treatises was to teach theory but above all the practice of early modern warfare. Lodovico Melzo's *Regole militari sopra il governo e servizio della cavalleria* described the new role of the light cavalry in battle. Lodovico Melzo wrote that he had kept his examples restricted to the most essential and above all the most practical aspects. Lelio Brancaccio's military treatise, *I carichi militare*, described the various ranks and accordingly gave very practical advice on their tasks in the army. He had compiled his book to enable soldiers to study military sciences.

In contrast to their Spanish colleagues, the Italian officers had their books published in Antwerp. There had been no firm tradition of printing Italian books in Antwerp.³⁹ This is in stark contrast to Lyon, another important merchant city and printing centre, where amongst others, the most important Italian authors such as Dante, Petrarca and Tasso were printed.⁴⁰ The Italian

38 For their separate biographies, see the respective entries in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter: *DBI*), accessible online, <http://www.treccani.it/biografie>: Gaspare De Caro, 'Brancaccio, Lelio', in *DBI*, 13 (1971); Dario Busolini, 'Giustiniani, Pompeo', *DBI*, 57 (2002); Alessandra Dattero, 'Melzi, Ludovico', in *DBI*, 73 (2009); See also, Corrado Argani, *Condottieri, Capitani, Tribuni* (Milan, Tosi, 1936–1937).

39 Nicole Bingen, 'Les éditions d'oeuvres en langue italienne à Anvers', in P. Jodogne (ed.), *Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589). Actes du colloque international des 28, 29 et 30 mars 1990* (Leuven, Peeters, 1991), pp. 179–202.

40 Data retrieved from the USTC-database: 363 Italian works were printed in Lyon between 1500 and 1600.

books printed in Antwerp during the sixteenth century were written by Italians residing in the city. The famous examples are the various works of the Florentine humanist Lodovico Guicciardini published by Willem Silvius and later by Plantin.⁴¹ Many Italian officers stayed in Antwerp rather than residing at the Brussels court. Giovanni de Medici, for example, bastard son of Cosimo I de Medici, who came to fight at Ostend, established his household in Antwerp in October 1602.⁴² As an important garrison city it hosted many military. The Neapolitan soldier Francesco Lanario was stationed, like many other Italian soldiers, in the Antwerp citadel. During the Twelve Year Truce he spent his time in the garrison writing a concise history of the Dutch Revolt, which was published by Verdussen in Antwerp in 1615.⁴³ In his dedication to the reader, he wrote that his friends had convinced him to get his book printed in Antwerp before returning to Italy.

Italian Military Books in Antwerp

The three military books were published by Joachim Troгнаesius in Antwerp.⁴⁴ After the conquest of Antwerp in 1585 by Alessandro Farnese it is generally believed that the Antwerp book market declined. Antwerp lost its leading position as a centre for humanist publishing and the printers' activities shifted mainly towards the publication of religious works.⁴⁵ From 1585 onwards Joachim Troгнаesius was active as a bookseller in Antwerp and in 1587 he gained the privilege to print books.⁴⁶ He was an ambitious printer. In 1590 he tried to obtain the Roman privilege to print bibles and breviaries. He was close to the English Catholic refugee, Richard Verstegan, of whom he published some pamphlets.⁴⁷ He also published 30 editions of the devotional works of the Jesuit Franciscus Costerus and he held the privilege for the printing of the

41 Bingen, 'Les éditions d'oeuvres en langue italienne à Anvers', pp. 197–199.

42 Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5155, f. 222.

43 Francesco Lanario, *Le guerre di Fiandra brevemente narrate* (Antwerp, Verdussen, 1615).

44 For information on this printing family, see Fernand Donnet, *Les imprimeurs Troгнаesius et leur famille* (Antwerp, Secelle, 1919).

45 Stijn van Rossum, 'The bookshop of the Counter-Reformation revisited. The Verdussen Company and the trade in Catholic publications, Antwerp, 1585–1648', *Quaerendo*, 38 (2008), pp. 306–321.

46 Donnet, *Les imprimeurs Troгнаesius*, pp. 85; Lode van den Branden, 'Drukersoctrooien toegekend door de Raad van Brabant tot 1600', *De Gulden passer*, 68 (1990), p. 71.

47 Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World. Richard Verstegan and the international culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2004), p. 53.

Jesuit schoolbooks.⁴⁸ Jesuit Counter-Reformation cheap print was certainly the main characteristic of Joachim Troгнаesius's output. Given this profile, it is quite remarkable that Troгнаesius published three Italian military treatises. The military books were not the only Italian books Troгнаesius printed during the truce. In 1612 and 1614 he published two political treatises in Italian by the Genoese, Pietro Andrea Canonhiero, who also lived in Antwerp.⁴⁹ In *Dell'introduzione alla politica*, Canonhiero warned his readers of the possible errors in his work by reminding them of the absence of an Italian corrector in the city. Nevertheless, it seems that Troгнаesius aimed at creating a new niche market of his own, which was aimed at an international Italian reading public.

On 7 November 1609 Aurelio Alciati wrote to the duke of Mantua and Monferrato regarding the recent book of Pompeo Giustianini.⁵⁰ He informed the duke that the book had already been printed in Antwerp, but that it was not yet published. According to Alciati a merchant had invested his money in the publication of the book. This merchant first wanted to send copies of the book to the cities of Milan and Venice, before the book would be published in Antwerp. Troгнаesius was thus able to engage in the publication of such a project through the merchant-investor, who probably did so because he was confident there would be an interested Italian public both in the Low Countries and in Italy. This investment may have paved the way for the two other military publications by Troгнаesius.

The production of these books in Antwerp may have been directed at an audience in the Low Countries, more specifically the Italian regiments stationed there. Although the truce had been declared between the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Habsburg Crown, the succession crisis in Jülich-Cleves and the rumours about French interventions in 1610 kept the prospect of war alive. However, buyers of manuals did not need to be soldiers or officers. Pieter Paul Rubens's library contained the Antwerp edition of Lodovico Melzo and Pompeo Giustiniani, which he had bought from Plantin in 1620.⁵¹

48 Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 53; Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe- et XVIe siècle dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique* (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1975), pp. 224–225.

49 Pietro Andrea Canonhiero, *Delle Cause dell'infelicità e disgrazie de gli huomini letterati e guerrieri. Libri Otto* (Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1612); Pietro Andrea Canonhiero, *Dell'introduzione alla politica, alla ragion di stato et alla pratica del buon governo* (Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1614). Reprinted in 1627 by Verdussen and Leestens.

50 Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Fiandra, 576, f610. I would like to thank Maurizio Arfaoli for alerting me to the richness of the Mantuan State Archives.

51 Prosper Arendts, Alfons K. Thijs & Frans Baudouin (eds.), *Bibliotheek van Piet Pauwel Rubens. Een reconstructie* (Antwerp, Antwerpse bibliotheek, 2001), p. 156.

Besides considering a group of buyers at the home front, the Antwerp editions were directed at an international market. All three of the military books printed by Trognaesius were quarto volumes, with beautiful, engraved title pages. They all contained large double spread or double folded engravings. Trognaesius clearly followed the fashion of providing military books with decorative 'baroque' frontispieces.⁵² At the top of Brancaccio's title page the allegorical figure of Father Time was depicted surrounded by weapons. On its right hand Roman weapons and on its left modern weapons. This pattern was repeated by two soldiers flanking the title and underneath the title page a picture of Roman and modern siege warfare.⁵³ Title pages, such as this one, enhanced the idea of a learned courtier warrior.⁵⁴ From the printer's perspective, one of the strategies was to specialise in luxury products that were largely intended for an international public. The editions produced by Trognaesius were beautifully executed. Another Antwerp printing company, the heirs of Martin Nutius, printed the edition of Brancaccio, which was on sale in 1611 at the Frankfurt Book Fair.⁵⁵

Trognaesius, however, was not very successful in establishing a dominant market position in Antwerp. Melzo's book on the rules of cavalry was very soon translated into French and printed in 1615 by the Antwerp printers, Geerard Wolsschat and Hendrik Aertssen.⁵⁶ The book was sold in the shop of another Antwerp printer, Hieronymus Verdussen. This edition included all the engravings and all the plates from Trognaesius's original print. Paul Varroy, the translator, explained that Melzo's book was applauded by many and so deserved a translation. This remark implies an interested audience, which was wider than the Italian military circles. Hendrik Aertssen started his career as a printer in 1615 by publishing books together with Geerard Wolsschat. Aertssen mostly printed devotional works, including Herman Hugo's popular work, *Pia*

52 Pollak, *Cities at war*, pp. 72–77.

53 Simoni, 'Soldier's Tales', p. 267.

54 John R. Hale, 'The argument of some military title pages of the Renaissance', in John R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London, Hambledon, 1983), pp. 211–222.

55 *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus, de anno MDCXI* (Frankfurt, Latomi, 1611). John L. Flood, "'Omnium Totius Orbis Emporiorum Compendium.'" The Frankfurt Fair in the early modern period', in R. Myers & M. Harris (eds.), *Fairs, markets and itinerant book trade* (New Castle, Oak Knoll, 2007) pp. 1–42.

56 Lodovico Melzo, *Reigles militaires du chevalier Frere Luys Melzo de l'ordre de Malte sur le gouvernement et service particulier et propre de la cavallerie traduites d'Italien en François par Paul Varroy* (Antwerp, Verdussen, 1615).

desideria, printed in 1624.⁵⁷ In the following years Hendrik Aertssen published two other military treatises written by the Milanese soldier, Flaminio della Croce, who had also fought in the Low Countries under the governorship of Alessandro Farnese, just like Brancaccio, Melzo and Giustiniani.⁵⁸ His general treatise on military affairs, *Theatro Militare*, was printed in 1617 by Hendrik Aertssen and this was followed in 1625 by his treatise on the light cavalry.⁵⁹ The *Theatro Militare* had earlier been printed in 1613 in Milan by Bernardo Lantomi. The Antwerp edition was a second enlarged edition with new chapters, new illustrations and it even included new examples from the recent war in Jülich-Cleves.⁶⁰ The publications of Della Croce did not carry monumental title pages as did the Troгнаesius editions. However, both works by Flaminio della Croce as well as the French translation of Lodovico Melzo, were immediately available at the Frankfurt Book Fair.⁶¹ Both Troгнаesius and Aertssen aimed at an interested and specialist audience in the Low Countries and abroad, and seized the opportunity to print Italian military books in Antwerp.

Reprints in Venice

Venice had established a firm monopoly in the publication of military books. The Venetian printing industry was in decline during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶² During this period, 73 military books were

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- 57 To my knowledge a general overview of the career of Hendrik Aertssen does not exist. Only information on Aertssen in Koen De Vlieghe-De Wilde (ed.), *Directory of seventeenth-century printers, publishers and booksellers in Flanders* (Antwerp, Antwerpse bibliofielen, 2004).
- 58 Anna E.C. Simoni, 'The Antwerp editions of Flaminio della Croce, or Italian swords pressed into Belgian books', in J. Hanselaer & H. Meeus (eds.), *Miscellanea Neerlandica XIX e codicibus impressisque. Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege* (Leuven, Peeters, 2004), pp. 511–537.
- 59 Flaminio della Croce, *Theatro militare* (Antwerp, Aertssens, 1617); Flaminio della Croce, *L'Essercitio della cavalleria et d'altre materie del Capitano Flaminio della Croce gentiluomo Milanese diviso in cinque libri...dedicato alla sacra cesarea real maestà del imperatore Ferdinando II* (Antwerp, Aertssen, 1625).
- 60 Della Croce, *Theatro militare*, pp. 27–30.
- 61 *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus, de anno MDCXV* (Frankfurt, Latomi, 1615); *Catalogus universalis omnium librorum, qui hisce nundinis francofurtensibus et lipsiensibus Vernalibus, de anno 1617* (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1617); *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno M.DC.XXV* (Frankfurt, Latomi, 1625).
- 62 Paolo Ulvioni, 'Stampatori e librai a Venezia nel Seicento', *Archivio Veneto*, 114 (1977), pp. 93–124.

printed.⁶³ In the early seventeenth century, two printers, Giovanni Battista Ciotti and Evangelista Deuchino, were responsible for the reprint of the three original military manuals from Antwerp. Both printers stand out because they published more military treatises than their Venetian colleagues.

Giovanni Battista Ciotti was a prolific printer-publisher in Venice at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ He often frequented the Frankfurt Fair and he imported a number of books from there.⁶⁵ In 1602 Ciotti sold several Spanish books in his Venetian shop, amongst which many of the Spanish military books published by Rutger Velpius in Brussels.⁶⁶ Between 1607 and 1615 he led a firm together with Bernardo Giunta.⁶⁷ In 1610 their company published a new edition of Pompeo Giustiniani's work and republished it two years later. The plates and the title page from the Antwerp edition were not included in the Venetian editions. Ciotti and Giunta advertised on the title page that the book had been revised in a way that facilitated the reader's use of the text by inserting annotations in the margins.

Earlier Ciotti had already published several military texts written by war veterans from the Low Countries. In 1596 he published the Italian translation of Bernardino de Mendoza's *Theorica y pratica de Guerra*, also published by Plantin in Antwerp that same year.⁶⁸ He republished De Mendoza's treatise twice, in 1602 and in 1616. Ciotti published various treatises of Giorgio Basta.

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- 63 This is the number of military books I have counted in the bibliography of printed books in Venice during the seventeenth century and Paul Breman's annotated bibliography of books on military architecture, see Caterina Griffante (ed.), *Le edizioni veneziane del Seicento. Un censimento* (Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003–2006); Breman, *Books on military architecture printed in Venice*.
 - 64 Between 1583 and 1600 he published 317 editions (data USTC). For a list of his publications between 1600 and 1638, see *Le edizioni veneziane del Seicento*, pp. 421–423. For biographical information see, Massimo Firpo, 'Giovanni Battista Ciotti', *DBI*, 25 (1981).
 - 65 David E. Rhodes, 'Some neglected aspects of the career of Giovanni Battista Ciotti', *The Library*, IX (1987), pp. 225–239; Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Milan, Francoangeli, 1998), pp. 93–94.
 - 66 David E. Rhodes, 'Spanish books on sale in the Venetian bookshop of G.B. Ciotti, 1602', *The Library*, XII (2011), pp. 50–55.
 - 67 Massimo Ceresa 'Bernardo Giunta', *DBI*, 57 (2002). For a bibliography of books Giunti published together with Ciotti, see Paolo Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti*, II (Florence, Sansoni, 1963), pp. 445–527.
 - 68 The first edition was published in Madrid in 1595: *Theorica y pratica de guerra, escrita al principe don Felipe nuestro señor, por don Bernardino de Mendoza* (Madrid, Ybáñez, 1595). *Teorica et pratica di guerra terrestre, et maritima, del sig. d. Bernardino di Mendoza. Tradotta dalla lingua spagnuola nella italiana da Salustio Gratii senese* (Venice, Ciotti, 1596).

Giorgio Basta was of Albanian descent and he had served in the Habsburg army in the Low Countries, where he commanded the light cavalry during the governorship of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo and Alessandro Farnese.⁶⁹ In 1597 he had joined the imperial forces in Hungary in order to fight the Ottomans. Basta's war techniques were admired by his contemporaries. Achille Tarducci, an Italian engineer in the imperial army, included in his treatises on ancient and modern machinery, detailed descriptions of the campaigns by Giorgio Basta against the Turks. Tarducci's book was published by Ciotti in 1601.⁷⁰ For his treatises Giorgio Basta drew heavily upon his past experiences in the war against the Dutch rebels and the Ottomans. In 1606, Ciotti published Basta's military treatises on the function of the leading officer, *Il maestro di campo generale*.⁷¹ Giorgio Basta also wrote a treatise on the light cavalry, *Il governo della cavalleria leggera* which was posthumously published by Bernardo Giunta and Giovanni Battista Ciotti in 1612.⁷² The title page advertised that the book was useful to soldiers, beneficial to warriors, profitable to captains and interesting for everybody. The book was translated into Spanish and published in 1624 in Brussels by Jan van Meerbeeck.⁷³

The printer, Evangelista Deuchino, was active in Venice from 1608 onwards until 1629.⁷⁴ He published *i carichi militari* by Lelio Brancaccio in 1620.⁷⁵ Deuchino dedicated it to Cosimo Borbone de' Marchesi dal Monte, who at that time was the governor of Bergamo. Cosimo had fought, like most male members of the Bourbon del Monte family, very actively in the wars in the Low Countries. Deuchino's dedicatee was chosen carefully, he replaced the original poem by Girolamo Fortini in praise for Lelio Brancaccio, with two poems in honour of Cosimo del Monte. The title page of this edition was a copy of the Antwerp edition and engraved by the Venetian Francesco Valegio.⁷⁶ At the top the coat of arms of the Bourbon del Monte replaced the allegorical figure of

69 Gaspere De Caro, 'Giorgio Basta', *DBI*, 7 (1970).

70 Achille Tarducci, *Delle Macchine, Ordinanze et Quartieri antichi et moderni... Aggiuntovi dal medesimo le fattioni occorse nell'Ongaria vicino a vaccia nel 1597 e la battaglia di Transilvania contra il valacco 1600 fatte dal Signor Giorgio Basta* (Venice, Ciotti, 1601).

71 The same year Ciotti published, Girolamo Eugeni, *Memoriale di guerra di Girolamo Eugeni d'Agobbio utilissimo & necessario a generali, & governatori di fortezze. Nel quale si tratta dell'astutie, tradimenti e stratagemmi che usano i capitani* (Venice, Ciotti, 1606).

72 Giorgio Basta, *Il Governo della cavalleria leggiera* (Venezia, Ciotto & Giunta, 1612).

73 Giorgio Basta, *Governo de la cavalleria ligera* (Brussels, Meerbeeck, 1624).

74 Tiziana Pesenti, 'Deuchino', *DBI*, 39 (1991). For a list of his publications, see Griffante (ed.), *Le edizioni veneziane del Seicento*, pp. 430–432.

75 Lelio Brancaccio, *I carichi militare* (Venice, Deuchino, 1626).

76 Michael Bury, *The print in Italy 1550–1620* (London, British Museum, 2011), p. 235.

Father Time in the original edition. Deuchino republished *I carichi militari* in 1626 but this time it was dedicated to Filippo Capponi, marchese di Teodorano. In the same year Deuchino published several military handbooks, amongst which Lodovico Melzo's treatise on the light cavalry and *Il maestro di campo generale* by Giorgio Basta, printed earlier by Ciotti.⁷⁷ Deuchino reissued the Italian translation of Francisco de Valdes *Espejo de disciplina militari*, published earlier in Spanish by Velpius in Brussels.⁷⁸ He did not only re-issue already successful military books but he also published new treatises, for example the work on fortifications by Francesco Tensini, *La fortificatione, guardia, difesa et espugatione delle fortezze* in 1624.⁷⁹ It was a folio edition with a beautifully executed frontispiece containing 48 etchings by the painter Odoardo Fialetti. This appealing book points towards some specialist publishing. The book was on sale at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1625.⁸⁰ He republished it in 1630, which was another productive year in which Deuchino published at once several military works on fortifications.⁸¹ *La reale fortificatione* by Antonio Sarti was a folio edition and beautifully produced. In comparison to Giovanni Battista Ciotti, Deuchino published large folios with engraved frontispieces.

The treatises of Italian officers Lelio Brancaccio, Lodovico Melzo and Giorgio Basta were compiled with other military treatises printed in Venice and published as one volume in 1641 by the Giunti firm in Venice as *Fucina di Marte*, re-using the title page of Lelio Brancaccio's book, engraved by Francesco Valegio.⁸² Military publications remained popular in Venice during the first half of the seventeenth century.

77 Giorgio Basta, *Il mastro di campo generale* (Venice, Deuchino, 1626).

78 Francisco Valdes, *Specchio e disciplina militare, nel quale si tratta dell'officio del sargente maggiore, nuovamente tradotto dalla lingua spagnola nella italiana da Gio. Paolo Galucci con un dialogo dell'istesso intorno al formare uno squadrone di gente & di terreno* (Venice, Deuchino, 1626).

79 Francesco Tensini, *La fortificatione, guardia, difesa et espugatione delle fortezze* (Venice, Deuchino, 1624). The work was reprinted by Bariletti firm for Evangelista Deuchino in 1630. Another work on fortifications, Antonio Sarti, *L'aurora dell'opere di fortificatione e di guerra* (Venice, Deuchino, 1626).

80 *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno M.DC.XXV* (Frankfurt, Latomi, 1625).

81 Antonio Sarti, *La reale et regolare fortificatione, descritta quesiti & risposte* (Venice, Deuchino, 1630); Paolo Sarti, *L'archivio di diverse lettioni militari* (Venice, Deuchino, 1630); Paolo Sarti, *La simmetria dell'ottima fortificatione regolare* (Venice, Deuchino, 1630).

82 *Fucina di Marte, nella quale con mirabile industria e con finissima tempra d'instruzioni militari, s'apprestano tutti gli ordini apparteneneti quali si voglia carico, essercitabile in guerra.*

Reprints in Milan

Milan was not a major printing centre in Italy and was largely overshadowed by Venice. Milanese publishers printed mostly for the local market.⁸³ Melzo, Brancaccio and Giustiniani's books were all reprinted in Milan by the same printer, Giovanni Battista Bidelli, who was one of the most important printers in Milan in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸⁴ He started as a printer-publisher around 1612 and was active until 1654. The output of his presses boomed between 1615 and 1630.

In 1615 he published Giustiniani's *Delle Guerre di Fiandra*, an edition based on the Venetian print of 1612 by Ciotto and Giunta, as it included their additions in the margins. Bidelli did not engage in adventurous publishing projects and mostly chose to reprint popular works already printed elsewhere.⁸⁵ In 1619 he printed a Spanish translation of Lodovico Melzo's treatise on the rules of cavalry, and in 1620 he republished Lelio Brancaccio's work.⁸⁶ For both editions Bidelli re-used the original frontispieces and included the engravings. In Lodovico Melzo's edition, other ornaments, such as the capital letters of the Antwerp print, were re-used. The difference in quality between Brancaccio's edition and Melzo's edition suggests that Bidelli may have had access to the copperplates of Melzo, who had returned from the Low Countries to Milan in 1613. The Milanese edition of his work included praise of Lodovico Melzo's capacities as a military officer. The Spanish translation of the work and its dedication to the governor of Milan, Don Gomez, the duke of Feria, points to the needs of the local Milanese market, as the city was part of the Spanish-Habsburg Empire. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Milanese official court printer, Malatesta, published several Spanish military treatises. For example, both treatises by Cristobal Lechuga and one by Bernardino Barroso were published in Milan by the Malatesta firm.⁸⁷

Fabbricata da' migliori Autori, e Capitani valorosi, ch'abbiano scritto sin'ora in questa materia (Venice, I Giunti, 1641).

- 83 Kevin M. Stevens & Paul F. Gehl, 'Cheap print. A look inside the Lucini-Sirtori stationery shop at Milan', *La Bibliofilia*, 112/3 (2010), pp. 281–327.
- 84 Alfredo Cioni, 'Gio Batista Bidelli', *DBI*, 10 (1968); Anna Giulia Cavagna & Anja Wolkenhauer, 'Editoria, tipografia e un alfabeto istoriato nella Milano del Seicento', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (2001), pp. 197–210.
- 85 Cavagna and Wolkenhauer, 'Editoria, tipografia nella Milano del Seicento', p. 210.
- 86 Lodovico Melzo, *Reglas militares del cauallero Melzo sobre el gouierno y seruicio dela caualleria* (Milan, Bideli, 1619).
- 87 Cristobal Lechuga, *Discurso del capitan Cristoual Lechuga, en que tratadel cargo y de todo lo que de derecho le toca en el exercito* (Milan, Pandolfo Malatesta, 1603); Cristobal Lechuga,

In 1619 Bidelli re-issued the treatise on fortifications and military architecture by Gabriele Busca, published earlier in Milan in 1601 by Bordoni and Locarni.⁸⁸ He republished the two military books by Giorgio Basta in 1625, which were earlier published in Venice.⁸⁹ He also printed new military manuals such as Francesco Pecenino's book on the formation of squadrons in 1628, which was later inserted in the *Fucina di Marte*.⁹⁰

A Pan-European Book Market

Interest in military innovations, technology and new tactics was widespread in early modern Europe. The main place for trading and buying books was the Frankfurt Book Fair. The 1592 catalogue of the Frankfurt Fair, which offered an overview of all the books that had been available between 1568 and 1592, had a separate category for books on military architecture.⁹¹ It included many books on architecture printed in Venice. Under the section 'Polemici', books dealing with military affairs were included. Several of the military textbooks already discussed, such as the Spanish military manuals by Velpius, were included in this section. Books at the Frankfurt Fair reached an international audience. From 1617 onwards, the London printer Bill published a catalogue of books available from Frankfurt, which included amongst others the important treatises on cavalry by Lodovico Melzo and Giorgio Basta.⁹² Basta's work on cavalry

Discurso del capitan Cristoual Lechuga, en que trata de la artilleria, y de todo lo necessario a ella. Con un tratado de fortification, y otros aduertimento (Milan, Marco Tullio Malatesta, 1611); Bernardino Barroso, *Teorica, pratica y exemplos compuestos por el Capitan Bernardino Barroso* (Milan, Carlo Antonio Malatesta, 1622). For more information see, González de León, *The road to Rocroi*, pp. 134–143.

88 Gabriello Busca, *Della architectura militare di Gabriello Busca Milanese* (Milan, Bordano & Locarni, 1601); Gabriello Busca, *L' architettura militare di Gabriello Busca milanese, del modo di fortificare luochi deboli, cinger cittadi, fabricar fortezze, cosi al monte, come alla pianura, e della maniera di diffenderle da qualsiuoglia batteria, & assalto* (Milan, Bidelli, 1619).

89 Giorgio Basta, *Il maestro di campo generale* (Milan, Bidelli, 1625); Giorgio Basta, *Il governo della cavalleria legger* (Milan, Bidelli, 1625).

90 Francesco Pecenino, *Squadroni del capitano Francesco Pecenino Spadino, sergente maggiore generale del Monferrato, ristampati, & dal medesimo autore ampliati* (Milan, Bidelli, 1628).

91 *Catalogus in unum corpus, librorum italicae, hispanice et gallice in lucem editorum a nundinis*, pp. 27–29.

92 Lawrence, *The complete soldier*, pp. 51–52.

was immensely popular. In 1612, the same year as it was published in Venice, it was also published in Italian in Frankfurt by Johann Saur.⁹³ In 1614 Johann Theodor de Bry published French and German translations. De Bry is especially known for the publication of a series on the Indies.⁹⁴ He published several military handbooks with beautifully designed title pages.⁹⁵ De Bry himself designed 12 copper engravings to illustrate Basta's treatise. In 1616, the French edition was already re-issued in Rouen by Jean Berthelin. In 1616 De Bry republished Basta's book in its Italian original. The following year, he published Basta's *maestro di campo generale* both in a German and a French translation. For the French translation he had acquired a six-year-long privilege from the French king. Again De Bry added several copper engravings. The various editions of Basta were immediately put on sale at the Frankfurt Fair.⁹⁶ The strategy of publishing both in French and in German was also used by De Bry for other military works. In 1614 he republished, in both German and French, Diego Ufano's treatise on artillery, printed earlier in Brussels.⁹⁷ De Bry did not only republish military books. Between 1615 and 1616 he published the works of Johann Jacob von Wallhausen, an important military theorist.⁹⁸ The books had beautiful, engraved title pages and illustrations designed by De Bry himself. For both books he obtained the imperial privilege and the French privilege. The simultaneous publications of the military treatises in both French and German by the same printer-publisher and their immediate availability at the Frankfurt Fair points to the enormous interest of the European markets for military books. De Bry's various military publications came at the period of the Jülich-Cleves war and its aftermath. This highlights that De Bry was well aware

93 Basta, *Il governo della cavalleria* (Frankfurt, Saur, 1612).

94 Michiel van Groesen, *The representations of the overseas world in the De Bry collection of voyages, 1590–1634* (Brill, Leiden, 2008).

95 Basta, *Il governo della cavalleria. Das ist bericht von anführung der leichten Pferde* (Oppenheim, Becker, 1614); Basta, *Le gouvernement de la cavallerie legiere* (Hanau, De Bry, 1614).

96 *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus, de anno MDCXV* (Frankfurt, Latomi, 1615); *Catalogus universalis omnium librorum, qui hisce nundinis francofurtensibus et lipsiensibus Vernalibus, de anno 1617* (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1617).

97 Diego Ufano, *Artillerie, c'est a dire, vraye instruction de l'artillerie et de toutes ses appartenances* (Frankfurt, Emmel, 1614); Diego Ufano, *Archeley, das ist. Grundlicher und eygentlicher bericht von geschutz* (Frankfurt, Emmel, 1614).

98 Johann Jacob von Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst su Fuß* (Oppenheim, Galler, 1615); Johann Jacob von Wallhausen, *L'art militaire pour l'infanterie* (Oppenheim, Galler, 1615); Johann Jacob von Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst su Pferdt* (Oppenheim, Galler, 1616); Johann Jacob von Wallhausen, *L'art militaire à cheval* (Oppenheim, Galler, 1616).

of the market tendencies, trying to diversify his output by breaking into the market of military books.

Conclusion

This case study began by tracking the movement of three closely connected Italian military books, first printed in Antwerp, across the early modern European book world. This itinerary reveals a vivid production and trade of an hitherto unnoticed genre in book history. The printer's decision to print military titles reveals several publishing strategies. Both Antwerp printers Trognaesius and Aertssen grabbed the opportunity to publish military books. Trognaesius, De Bry and Deuchino specialised to a certain extent in the publication of these books by producing high-quality editions. De Bry envisioned a wider market by publishing in Italian, French and German and by adding illustrations. Other printers such as Bidelli and Ciotti resorted mostly to printing material that had proven to be successful. It is clear that the printers of the military books provided for different markets. Aertssen, Trognaesius and De Bry aimed at an international audience. The subsequent reprinting of Trognaesius-editions in Venice and Milan suggests that by that time books from Northern Europe did not reach Italy automatically as a result of the Frankfurt Fair. Italy being a rather closed market, it seems that these books were reproduced especially for the local markets in Milan and in Venice. Rather than specialisation, one could argue that printing military books offered the various printers a necessary means of diversification.

The Italian Job: John Wolfe, Giacomo Castelvetro and Printing Pietro Aretino

Kate De Rycker

Imagine that you are an Italian living in London during the 1580s: where do you go to find Italian books? You could try your luck with various booksellers who may have imported titles, but to be certain you could decide to head to Distaff Lane, south east of St Paul's Churchyard, and find John Wolfe's shop.

Between 1581 and 1591, Wolfe specialised in Italian works, printing around 50 titles in ten years; John Charlewood, Wolfe's next greatest competitor, published only sixteen Italian books. Wolfe also sent the most books, 17 titles, to the Frankfurt Book Fair over eight years, followed by Thomas Vautrollier who sent 11 titles to Frankfurt over a ten year period.¹ Wolfe had worked in Florence during the 1570s, and once back in England became the *de facto* leader of the printers' rebellion in 1582. Despite his defiantly individualistic beginnings, Wolfe was brought into the fold of the Stationers' Company in 1584, and was made the company beadle three years later.²

Perhaps thanks to his Florentine apprenticeship, a clique of Italian authors and editors soon formed around his print-shop. Pettruccio Ubaldini, in his preface to the first Italian work printed by Wolfe, *La Vita di Carlo Magno* (1581), says that "Italian works can be printed no less easily in London than they are printed elsewhere (this being the first), through the skill and diligence of John Wolfe her own citizen, by whose efforts you could have other works in the same language day by day".³ Wolfe may have turned to printing Italian texts because of

1 Soko Tomita, *A bibliographical catalogue of Italian books printed in England 1558–1603* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2009), p. 17; David Paisey, 'German book fair catalogues', *The Library*, 4/4 (2003), pp. 417–427.

2 For more on Wolfe's career and his involvement with the printer's rebellion, see Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, printer and publisher, 1579–1601', *The Library*, 14/3 (1933), pp. 241–289; Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan impressions. John Wolfe and his press* (New York, AMS, 1988); Joseph Loewenstein, *The author's due. Printing and the prehistory of copyright* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002).

3 Petruccio Ubaldini, *La vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore* (London, 1581), p. 4. Translation from the original Italian. Ubaldini was wrong about this being the first Italian work printed in London, that honour goes to the *Cathechismo* of Michelangelo Florio (father of the famous John Florio) in 1553.

connections made in Florence, or because there were not as many restrictions for printing foreign works as there were for those in English. Maybe he saw the opportunity to trade banned books back to Italy. Why he suddenly stopped printing Italian texts in 1591 is the more interesting question. In this year, the titles he had previously entered into the Stationers' Register were either abandoned or handed over to other printers. In addition, Wolfe ceased to send books to the Frankfurt Fair, and as if to mark this break from Italian writing, in August of the same year he printed an anonymous pamphlet which was bitterly anti-Italian: *A Discovery of the great Subtlety and Wonderful Wisdom of the Italians*, itself a translation from French. Our journey into this Elizabethan 'Italian job' therefore begins with the following question: why would Wolfe, the leading specialist in England, suddenly let go of his Italian account?

Lone Wolfe?

Perhaps the problem with this question is on focussing too narrowly on Wolfe himself. Thanks to the work of critics such as Zachary Lesser and Douglas A. Brooks, the role of a publisher such as Wolfe is now recognised as being of equal importance in the creation of a text as that of the writer.⁴ However, by emphasising the role of the printing houses in the period, the power and authority of the individual 'creator' has, in some respects, merely been transferred from the 'author' to a figure such as Wolfe, to the cost of other collaborators within the process. Wolfe's life-story holds enough imaginative power to make him appear as the outsider of the London book trade and very much the 'lone Wolfe', yet by the late 1580s he held increasingly important positions in the Stationers' Company and often gave the job of 'sourcing' texts to others.⁵ In this light, his specialisation in Italian works can be shown to be much more of a collaborative affair than we previously thought.

One such collaborator was the editor Giacomo Castelvetro. Castelvetro was an Italian Protestant and nephew of the humanist scholar Lodovico Castelvetro. Both fled to Geneva after Lodovico was denounced for heresy. Giacomo travelled around Europe to cities such as Lyon, Basel and Vienna before moving to

4 See Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance drama and the politics of publication. Readings in the English book trade* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Douglas A. Brooks, *From playhouse to printing house. Drama and authorship in early modern England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

5 This appears to have been common practice for Wolfe, see his dedicatory epistle to *John Huighen van Linschoten, His discours of voyages into the Easte and West Indies* (London, 1598).

London in 1580.⁶ It was here that he began to work with Wolfe, writing the pseudonymous prefaces for his editions of Niccolò Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino.⁷

In these prefaces, Castelvetro addresses a group of émigrés frustrated at the scarcity of Italian texts in London. Dedicating the dual copy of Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* and Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* to Charles Blount in June 1591, he writes that the 'glowing reputation' of Guarini's pastoral "has awoken in the breasts of singular spirits a not inconsiderable desire to be able to see the thing itself, and they have asked me to make it happen, if I could". Having finally obtained a copy from friends, Castelvetro had it reprinted in London "having seen how difficult it was to procure a copy of it" and, in the case of the *Aminta*, "because today one finds so few copies of [*Aminta*] available for sale". The same sense of supplying material for a frustrated émigré audience recurs in the prefaces to the Aretino editions. Castelvetro speaks of the "great desire" amongst this community of readers "to see the works of the talented Mr. Pietro Aretino reprinted" describing (not entirely objectively) "the rumour, the noise and din" that he heard amongst his readers, eager for the next part of the *Ragionamenti*.⁸

Castelvetro claims not only to be acting as an editor, but also as a 'buyer' of Italian texts for Wolfe. In a presentation copy of Mendoza's *L'Historia del Gran Regno della China* (1587) given to Sir Roger North, a handwritten note from Castelvetro reads: "I determined to send to you this beautiful and delightful little history book, printed at my instigation, and to purge it of the many errors that were made in the first printing of it".⁹ Castelvetro's claim that the printing of the book was "at [his] instigation" implies that his relationship with Wolfe was one in which he was given the responsibility and trust to suggest and edit

6 For more on Castelvetro, see K.T. Butler, 'Giacomo Castelvetro 1546–1616', *Italian Studies*, 5 (1950), pp. 1–42; Paola Ottolenghi, 'Giacopo Castelvetro. Esule modenese nell'Inghilterra di Shakespeare (Pisa, ETS, 1982) and Maria Luisa de Rinaldis, *Giacomo Castelvetro Renaissance translator. An interface between English and Italian culture* (Lecce, Milella, 2003).

7 Castelvetro also edited Scipio Gentili's translation of Tasso's first book of *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1584), Burleigh's *Execution of justice in England* (1584), Giulio Cesare Stella's *Columbeidos* (1585), the translation of Mendoza's *Dell'Historia della China* (1588), Guarini's *Pastor Fido* with Tasso's *Aminta* (1591) and Giambattista della Porta's *De furtivis litterum notis vulgo de ziferis* (1591).

8 Aretino, *La prima parte de Ragionamenti di M. Pietro Aretino, cognominato il Flagello de principi, il Veritiero, e'l Divino* (Bengodi [London], 1584), A2r and, Aretino *La terza, et ultima parte de Ragionamenti del divino Pietro Aretino* ([London], 1589), p. 3. Translation from the original Italian.

9 Juan Gonzáles de Mendoza, *The historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China...translated out of Spanish by R. Parke* (London, 1588). Translation from the original Italian.

works, and see them through the press. As we shall see later, this concern with 'expunging errors' is one that reappears in his prefaces to Aretino. Finally, in addition to sourcing and editing Italian books, Castelvetro was also an agent for Wolfe at the Frankfurt Fair, entrusted to sell Wolfe's books and find new stock, and also to deliver letters on behalf of men such as Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham.¹⁰

While it is acknowledged that Castelvetro worked for Wolfe in his Italian ventures, what I propose here is that he had a much greater role to play in the dissemination of Aretino than has previously been considered. Though he was not the cause of Wolfe's specialisation in Italian books, Castelvetro appears to have taken responsibility for running his Italian account. The skills that he brought to this job may have been irreplaceable for Wolfe, so that when Castelvetro left London at the end of 1591 (to become the Italian tutor to James VI of Scotland) his absence may have been enough to halt Wolfe's Italian venture.

Sonia Massai suggests that this sudden cessation of Wolfe's Italian printing indicated that his troubles with the Stationers' Company had ended, and that he therefore no longer needed to turn to foreign editions.¹¹ This is certainly one possibility. Wolfe, despite previous opposition to the Company in the early 1580s, had nevertheless become the Queen's Publisher in 1592, and in 1594 had stopped printing books, continuing instead as a 'publisher' only in the sense of being a financial backer. Yet while he had completely finished trading at the Frankfurt Fair, Wolfe still continued to produce travel accounts from abroad and was one of the major publishers of foreign news stories.¹² Clearly he had not cut off ties with foreign printing altogether, but this seems rather to be a specific termination of his interest in Italian books.

10 The London Port Book for September 1589 records the payment of petty customs on four crates of books (containing between 2,500 and 4,000 titles) that Castelvetro had imported from Germany. See R.J. Roberts, 'New light on the career of Giacomo Castelvetro', *Bodleian Library Record*, 13 (1990), pp. 365–369.

11 Sonia Massai, 'John Wolfe and the impact of exemplary go-betweens on early modern print culture', in A. Hoefele & W. Von Koppenfels (eds.), *Renaissance go-betweens. Cultural exchange in early modern Europe* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 104–118: p. 117.

12 The only two 'Italianate' works that Wolfe would be involved with after 1591 was a book on the art of fencing: *Vincenzio Saviolo his practise*, entered in the Stationers' Register by Wolfe on the 19 November 1594 and printed by Thomas Scarlet, and secondly, *The ceremonies, solemnities and prayers...of Rome...together with the bull of the said Pope Clement*, printed by Simon Stafford in 1600. On Wolfe's foreign news stories, see M.A. Shaaber, *Some forerunners of the newspaper in England 1476–1622* (London, Frank Cass, 1966). Wolfe was one of four major printers to print foreign news, of which he held the highest share of 60%.

Another possibility seems more likely when we consider this Italian 'account' not as a sole venture by Wolfe but as a collaborative project with Castelvetro. To take Castelvetro out of the equation appears to have caused the entire specialisation to be unprofitable. We know that he was not just a factor of Wolfe's, but financially involved with the printing of some of Wolfe's works. For example, he funded the printing of works written by Thomas Erastus, whose widow Castelvetro had married in 1587, as well as Scipio Gentili's *Tassi Solymeidos, liber primus Latinis numeris* (1584). The printing of this Latin translation of *Gerusalemme Liberata*, only three years after it had originally been printed in Italy, also implies that Castelvetro had his finger on the pulse of popular literature, evident also in his claim to have instigated the English publication of *Il Pastor Fido* only one year after its appearance in Italy.

If Castelvetro was skilled in finding Italian texts, if he was a good and careful editor, and able to read the needs of the community of Italian émigrés, it is understandable that Wolfe might not have been able to find a replacement. A more simple explanation is that, although Wolfe was, up till 1591, the largest publisher of Italian texts, they accounted for only 10% of his overall output. Without the impetus of Castelvetro, Wolfe might have lost financial interest in continuing his Italian connections.

In arguing that Castelvetro was the dynamo of Wolfe's Italian venture, I am also suggesting that he was likely to have been behind the project to produce the entire works of Machiavelli and Aretino. Other than these two projects, Wolfe either produced individual, opportunistic texts or texts by Italian émigrés who were working with him, such as Ubaldini and the jurist Alberico Gentili, the latter's writing popular enough abroad to be sent regularly by Wolfe to the Frankfurt Fair. The project to print the complete works of Aretino and Machiavelli was therefore unique in Wolfe's output.

The project to print the works of Machiavelli and Aretino could have been initiated by Castelvetro, who persuaded Wolfe that there was a market for them both at home and abroad. Wolfe never produced Aretino's *Lettere*, despite having entered them in the Stationers' Register in September and October 1588, implying that without the effort of Castelvetro Wolfe abandoned this otherwise ambitious plan to print five books of Aretino's collected letters. All other works entered into the Register by Wolfe were taken over by fellow printers, such as Adam Islip and Richard Field, neither of whom seem to have wanted the weighty project of Aretino's *Lettere*.¹³ Wolfe specialised in Italian

13 *A booke of secrets. Shewing diuers waies to make and prepare all sorts of inke* was entered into the SR on the 30 April 1591 by Wolfe and produced by Adam Islip in 1596 for Edward White. On the same day Wolfe entered *Epulario, or the Italian banquet* printed by Islip for

books, but his success was that he did not specialise exclusively. When Castelvetro left, Wolfe was business-minded enough to cut his losses and follow a new specialisation in foreign news.

While Castelvetro was still around, Wolfe's niche was dictated instead by a specialised readership, which went beyond the Italian immigrants living in London. The project to print the complete works of Aretino illustrates this very well. While other European publishers were providing translations that portrayed only the pornographic side of Aretino, Wolfe and Castelvetro tailored their editions to a humanist audience, who appreciated his natural writing style.

Wolfe, along with John Florio, is often seen as the major contributor in disseminating Aretino and Machiavelli's work in London, because he was the first specialist publisher in Italian literature in the 1580s. The printing of these texts was, however, a collaborative endeavour, to which Wolfe's contribution was mainly financial. It is the editor, Castelvetro, who we should acknowledge as the driving force behind the Aretino project.

Specialised Markets

What was the market for Italian books in London? As Stephen Parkin points out, "Publishing books in a foreign vernacular for the domestic market is in the best of circumstances an artificial enterprise, more willed than spontaneous".¹⁴ It involves a specialised, self-selecting audience of either expatriates or English people both able and willing to read Italian.¹⁵ Yet Wolfe's imprints did not just stay within a domestic market but were also exported to the continent. 27 different titles by Wolfe can still be found in various libraries in Italy, of which his imprint of Scipio Gentili's *Annotationi...sopra La Gierusalemme Liberata* (1586) appears to have sold the most. More copies survive here than in England, which may mean that this edition was intended for export to Italy.¹⁶

William Barley in 1598. Richard Field meanwhile took over the printing of six of Ubaldini's texts over the 1590s.

- 14 Stephen Parkin, 'Italian printing in London 1553–1900', in B. Taylor (ed.), *Foreign-language printing in London* (London, The British Library, 2002), pp. 133–174: p. 134.
- 15 Repeat buyers of Wolfe's Italian imprints were Edmund Coke, William Drummond and Francis Russell, while others such as Lord Burghley and Gabriel Harvey who had both worked with Wolfe, either bought or had been given some of his Italian imprints including the Aretino texts. See Tomita, *A bibliographical catalogue*.
- 16 Compare the 31 remaining copies in Italian libraries to the 14 copies in UK and US libraries.

When we come to Wolfe's Aretino imprints, English critics have tended to look at them as having two distinct markets: one the small community of connoisseurs in London, and the other an illegal trade that smuggled prohibited books into Italy. As with Machiavelli, Aretino's entire works had been placed on the Catholic Index of Prohibited Books, and there is evidence that copies were smuggled into Italy amongst a pile of other unbound books brought legally from continental book fairs. In 1579 Stefano Bindoni, a member of a well-known printing family, was punished for having a manuscript copy of Aretino's *Ragionamenti*. Stefano claimed that he had bought a pile of books from a poor Frenchman, amongst which he unearthed the Aretino edition. This he admitted to copying, though (so he claimed) not with the intent to print and resell it, but rather to read it out loud to his friends.¹⁷

However, while English critics have distinguished the market for these Aretino texts in London as a specialised, specific audience, they tend to look upon the Italian audience as a homogeneous group, maybe on the assumption that Aretino, as a banned writer of erotica and satires, was generally popular in Italy. Italian critics are naturally more attuned to the nuances of this audience. As Gaetano Cozzi points out censorship limits the circulation of these books to those who are willing to make the effort to track down banned books. If a domestic audience was limited to the few who were able to understand Italian, then while this was clearly not an issue in Italy, it was still a specialised audience of readers who were willing to go to the difficulty of finding these books. Yes, you could find these texts if you knew where to look, but first you had to want to look, which made reading banned books "an elite phenomenon" in Italy, as "it eliminated any sort of circulation of ideas, and consequently it reduced any possibility of mutual comprehension between the elite and the mass of those who did not or could not read prohibited books".¹⁸

Because of this, I think that there are two adjustments to be made to how we understand the potential audience of Wolfe's Aretino imprints. Firstly, that we should narrow our focus to a specialised readership: in England because it is a foreign vernacular and in Italy because of censorship. Within this focus, we can also expand the reach of these editions by comparing the prefatory material of these English-produced texts with those of other European imprints of Aretino. In this way, we can see that the London editions treated their audience as a humanist one, and as such it became an audience that could conceivably be found anywhere in Europe rather than just the two countries of England and Italy.

17 See the entry on Augustino Bindoni by Alfredo Cioni, *Treccani, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 10 (1968).

18 Gaetano Cozzi, 'Books and society', *Journal of Modern History*, 51/1 (1979), pp. 86–98; p. 95.

What was unusual about these London editions was that Castelvetro had attempted to edit a complete works of Aretino, grouped generically. His project began in 1584, when the 'prima parte' of the *Ragionamenti* (otherwise known as the '*Sei Giornate*') came off the Wolfe press. In the three dialogues the prostitute Nanna discusses what her daughter Pippa should become: a nun, a wife or a whore, before training her in the arts of prostitution. These were accompanied by a dialogue falsely attributed to Aretino, the *Ragionamenti del Zoppino*. The edition appears to have been popular, having gone through three impressions of the press in the same year.¹⁹

After a break of four years, a new edition of four of Aretino's comedies (*Il Marescalco*, *La Cortigiana*, *La Talanta* and *L'Hipocrito*) was printed as *Quattro Comedie* in 1588, becoming the first collection of dramatic works to be printed in England. The next year, Castelvetro's project came to an end with *La terza, et ultima parte de Ragionamenti*. This 'third part' of the dialogue series contains *Ragionamenti delle Corti* and *Dialogo del Giuoco delle carte*: both satirical dialogues on the court rather than the courtesans of Rome.

We can see Castelvetro's project to print the entire works of Aretino unfolding over the various prefaces. Over the three editions, Castelvetro promises to print "the remainder of the works of this fine spirit", mentioning the comedies and discourses listed above, but adding to these Aretino's spiritual works (*Genesis*, *the Psalms*, *the Life of the Virgin Mary*) and poems (*Lagrime d'Angelica*, *the Capitol*, *Strambotti a la Villanesca* and *la Serena*) which, along with the "five volumes of erudite and ingenious letters, considered the best letters in the world", were never to be produced by the Wolfe press.²⁰

Not content with providing new editions of the texts, Castelvetro and Wolfe tried to do something even more unusual by grouping the works together by genre. By doing so, they were trying to create a 'collected works' for Aretino, making new connections between the texts. Before this, the *Sei Giornate* had usually been printed separately as *Il Ragionamento della Nanna e della Antonia* (1534) and *Il Dialogo nel quale la Nanna insegna a la Pippa* (1536). For the London edition, Castelvetro and Wolfe not only followed a more unified, Boccaccian structure, but

19 The three impressions are the Worcester College copy of Oxford University (STC 19912a), which does not include the errata or the Annibal Caro texts *Il Commento di Ser Agresto* and *Nasea*. In the preface to this edition, the Caro texts are promised to be printed later, because they are by a "different but similar gentleman", in much the same logic that connects *Il Pastor Fido* and *Aminta*. These Caro texts appear in the later Worcester University copy STC 1991.5 and the British Library's STC 19912 copy.

20 *La prime parte*, A2v, and Pietro Aretino, *Quattro comedie del divino Pietro Aretino* (London, 1588), A3r. This and all further Aretino quotations are in translation from the original Italian.

brought these dialogues into relation with other Aretino dialogues: the misattributed 'Zoppino' dialogue and the previously separate 'court dialogues', *Ragionamento delle Corti* (1538) and *Le Carte Parlanti* (1543).²¹ Wolfe and Castelvetro had drawn together five previously separate texts under the genre of 'ragionamenti' or 'dialogues' in these two editions.

This is also true of the 1588 collection of comedies, which were only once collected together in 1553 by Gabriel Giolito. As the preface to *Quattro Comedie* shows, Castelvetro intended to go one better than Giolito by supplementing the four plays with *Il Filosofo* and Aretino's tragedy, *Hortensia*, had good copy texts for either been found in time. Of the three copies that the British Library holds, one owner has completed the task of adding *Il Filosofo* (Venice, Giolito, 1549) and *L'Horatia* (Venice, Giolito, 1553).

In any case, the *Quattro Comedie* especially appears to have been very popular not only in England but also on the continent. In 1618 the Dutch Rederijker, Pieter C. Hooft, made a manuscript translation of Aretino's *L'Hipocrito*. This he entitled *Schijnheyligh*, and it was later printed by a fellow Rederijker, Gerbrand Bredero, in 1624. Hooft's original translation, however, used the Wolfe edition as the copy-text.²² Hooft was not alone, as another manuscript translation, which used *Quattro Comedie* as the copy-text for *Il Marescalco* and *L'Hipocrito*, exists in a seventeenth century copy in Vienna's *Nationalbibliothek*.²³

Many examples of the 1588 Wolfe edition still survive and can be found across Europe. In 1973, E.K. Grootes listed 59 editions, the majority in the United Kingdom (19) and North America (18), with the rest in Germany (7), Italy (7), Poland (2), the Netherlands (2), Belgium (2), France (1) and Hungary (1).²⁴ In fact, the number for Italy is inaccurate as there are actually 18 copies in various provincial Italian libraries, and I suspect that by the same logic more editions may be found in the provincial libraries of other European countries.²⁵

Finally, although never printed, Castelvetro clearly intended that Aretino's *Lettere* be collected together in one volume. As we have seen, this volume was

21 Though the 'Zoppino' dialogue was a misattribution, it is an understandable one as it was also printed alongside *Il Dialogo nel quale la Nanna* by Francesco Marcolini in Venice, 1539.

22 E.K. Grootes, *Dramatische Structuur in Tweevoud. Een vergelijkend onderzoek van Pietro Aretino's Hipocrito en P.C. Hooft's Schijnheyligh* (Culemborg, Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn, 1973).

23 Grootes, *Dramatische Structuur*, p. 25.

24 Grootes, *Dramatische Structuur*, p. 45.

25 This was found by using the database Edit 16 which lists texts from provincial as well as national holdings.

entered into the Stationers' Register by Wolfe in 1588. In the *terza parte de Ragionamenti*, Castelvetro seemed less bothered with introducing the immediate content, dismissing it as something given to his Aretino connoisseurs in compensation for the delay of his major project: the *Lettere*. Instead he wished to produce:

All six books of such Letters in one folio volume, adding two other books of beautiful letters of many noble and serious characters written to [Aretino], all of which will be placed according to their genre...and not content with this, all the above things ordered alphabetically under a table in the earlier book.²⁶

These layers of organisation create a text more like an Erasmian commonplace book than a collection of letters, and betray Castelvetro's humanist approach to editing texts. By emphasising a greater, more creative role for Castelvetro in the production of these London editions, we can see that this was not solely a financial decision by Wolfe to print banned books to export to Italy, but was motivated by Castelvetro's humanist ideal of creating a complete works of Aretino.

If the publication of Ben Jonson's *Works* in 1616 is seen as a major step towards our modern conception of authorship, then Castelvetro and Wolfe's decision to create the collected works, organised by theme, of Aretino in the 1580s may be considered an earlier example, though admittedly more a form of 'other-fashioning' than 'self-fashioning'.²⁷ By doing so, it is as if Wolfe and Castelvetro were continuing Aretino's project of self-conscious authorship, while simultaneously fashioning for themselves the role of a modern-day editor.

Aretino: Humanist or 'Whore-Master'?

Castelvetro's humanist project is not just apparent in his attempt to create a collected works of Aretino, but also in the care he gives to providing an accurate version of the text. In doing so, he emphasises the reconstruction of what he believed to be an authoritative text, and that his job was to correct the mistakes of previous editions. Castelvetro may even have inspired the practice of

²⁶ Aretino, *La terza et ultima parte*, pp. 3–4.

²⁷ On Jonson's self-fashioned authorship, see Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and possessive authorship* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002).

errata lists at Wolfe's press. While Sonia Massai claims that the inclusion of errata lists is a continental practice which may have been learned by Wolfe on his Florentine apprenticeship, this has been countered by Bianca Calabresi, who writes that "vernacular printed *dramatic* texts issued in Italy...almost never included errata lists, let alone one of such an extensive nature [as Wolfe's]". As Wolfe only began to include these errata lists in his English texts from 1593, it seems that the practice originated in the texts edited by Castelvetro.²⁸

In the preface to the *prima parte... Ragionamenti*, Castelvetro explained that he reprinted these dialogues to restore the original text that he believed Aretino had intended to be read:

Today I present them in the large part...redacted to the way he composed them, and in the same manner that he had intended of the first print, if another (against his will) hadn't by means of printing brought it into a very bad light... And yet I hope to bring out others, as he composed them, and not torn...with a thousand lacunai, that you might as well return to the first editions.²⁹

The very physical description of the text being "lacerate...con mille ciandie loro" does suggest that Castelvetro is blaming the typographical errors of previous editions for communicating a message that Aretino never intended to be communicated. However, there is another way of reading his accusation that Aretino's work was not being read "as he composed them". In comparison to continental publications of Aretino's texts, it is noticeable that the London editions are much more faithful to the original text, thereby justifying Castelvetro's claim that "you might as well return to the first editions". Of course, these editorial choices still show a conscious attempt to represent Aretino in a specific way, to a specific audience. No authorial intent can ever be truly replicated.

In the case of most of Aretino's works, however, only a few new editions were being printed by Wolfe's continental competitors. As we have seen, the *Quattro Comedie* circulated widely on the continent, and was only challenged

²⁸ Massai, 'John Wolfe', p. 113. Bianca Finzi-Contini Calabresi, "Bawdy doubles". Pietro Aretino's *Comedie* (1588) and the appearance of English drama', in A. Russell Ascoli, W.N. Vest, & J. Masten (eds.), *Renaissance drama 36/37. Italy in the drama of Europe* (Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 2010), pp. 207–236: p. 218. See Massai, 'John Wolfe', p. 107, n. 16 for the list of Wolfe's English texts printed with errata.

²⁹ Aretino, *La prima parte*, A2r-v.

in 1601 by the printing of three comedies in Venice by Giorgio Greco. These editions were attributed to a different author, one “Luigi Tansilo”, and were renamed as “Il Sofista” (Il Filosofo), “Il Cavallarizzo” (Il Marescalco) and “Il Finto” (L’Ipocrito) to evade the Index. These texts were relatively accurate, though expunged of religious or political matters deemed sensitive.³⁰

Although Aretino’s spiritual texts, such as *Genesis* and the *Penitential Psalms* had mostly been translated and printed in Lyon in the 1540s, the only work that was repeatedly translated and re-printed in Europe was the *Dialogo* in which Nanna describes the art of prostitution to her daughter Pippa. The first of these translations was in Spanish: *Coloquio de las Dames* by Fernan Xuares. This translation was popular, first published in Seville in 1547, reprinted there again as well as in Zaragoza in 1548, and finally in Medina del Campo in 1549, and would become the basis for many other continental translations. These derivative translations were printed in various countries, from four French texts (two in 1580, one in 1595 and reprinted in 1599, one in 1600), one Latin text printed in Frankfurt in 1623, to two Dutch texts (one in 1646, the other in 1680).³¹ One translation appears to have begot another, so that we end up with a chain of translations. Other than the Latin translation, all claim to be translated from Italian, though stylistically they have more in common with the prose of the Spanish text than they do with Aretino’s original.³²

The Spanish *Coloquio* was directly translated into two French texts, both published in 1580 (*Le miroir des Courtisans* and *Tromperies*), and the Latin text *Pornodidasculus* (1623). All three contain direct translations of Xuares’s preface to the *Coloquio*, which insisted that he translated this to advise ‘young men’ of the deceits of women/courtesans. Further levels of translation are apparent, when later French and Dutch texts appear.³³ Rather than deriving from the Spanish translation, these four texts appear to be translated from the two French texts from 1580.

Histoire and *Het Net* appear to be based on *Tromperies*. The former includes *La Vieille Courtisane* (1558) by Joachim du Bellay which was first included in *Tromperies*, while *Het Net* derives its name from the *Tromperies* subtitle, which

30 Grootes, *Dramatische Structuur*, p. 45.

31 Ian Moulton, ‘Crafty whores. The memorialising of Aretino’s ‘Dialogues’, in Sasha Roberts (guest editor), ‘Reading early modern England’, *Critical Survey*, 12/2 (2000), pp. 88–105.

32 Luce Guillermin, Jean-Pierre Guillermin, Laurence Hordoir, Marie-Françoise Piéjus, *Le Miroir des femmes. Roman, conte, théâtre, poésie au XVIe siècle* (Lille, Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1984), p. 200.

33 These are: *Histoire des amours feintes* (Paris, 1595), *Dialogue de l’Aretin* (Paris, 1600), *Het Net der Wellustigheyt* (Amsterdam, 1646) and *Het Leven en d’Arglistige Treken der Courtisanen* (Leiden, 1680).

describes how young men, “Hoffjonkers” or “des jouvenceaux”, are caught by courtesans in their nets, “leur filets”. Finally, the French *Dialogue* appears to be the basis for *Het Leven*, which also describes itself as following the lives of the courtesans of Rome, Lais and Lamia.

Given that Wolfe’s *prime parte... Ragonamenti* was available after 1584, why did these later translations still derive from the Spanish edition? On a purely practical level, one could say that the first set of translators may have been more comfortable with Spanish than Italian, and that the second set of translators was more comfortable with French. The result, whether intentional or not, was ideological.

Another Dutch edition, printed throughout the seventeenth century, was the Elsevier press’s reprinting of Wolfe’s *prime parte... Ragonamenti* as *Capricciosi & Piaceuoli Ragonamenti* in 1600, 1620, 1650 and 1660.³⁴ The reprint included the Barbagrìgia preface, the ‘Sei Giornate’, the Zoppino dialogue and the Annibal Caro texts, supplemented by an additional introduction and marginal notes to aid the reader with difficult Italian phrases. The Elsevier introduction holds many of the same humanist tenets as that of Castelvetro and Wolfe: textual accuracy, an appreciation of the author and the sense, to quote Oscar Wilde that “there is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book” but rather that there are only good and bad readers.³⁵

The preface to *Capricciosi* explains that the editor added marginal notes “to smooth out the true meaning of things that are obscure, and show the true meaning of the difficult vocabulary”.³⁶ This editorial intervention is not the same as that of the Spanish variants, where the translators explain that they have made moral judgements on how to translate the text. Instead, these editorial decisions refer to specifically grammatical decisions meant to aid those who are practising their Italian. The editor explains that the unusual construction of words found in the text are written intentionally by “Aretino, to portray better the way that real people talk, and in this way paint things according to nature”, and thus, that “our divine Aretino” has unexpectedly been “observing

34 See John R.J. Ike, ‘Romeyn de Hooghe: porno-graveur? A peek at seventeenth-century Dutch erotica’, in W.Z. Shetter & I. van der Gruyze (eds.), *Contemporary explorations in the culture of the Low Countries* (Lanham, Md., University Press of America, 1996), pp. 139–156: p. 141. It suggests that the 1660 copy of the *Capricciosi* (from which the quotations in this chapter are taken) was printed for the international bookseller John van Ravesteijn.

35 Oscar Wilde, *The picture of Dorian Gray* (London, Urban Romantics, 2011), p. 3.

36 Pietro Aretino, *Capricciosi & Piaceuoli Ragonamenti di M. Pietro Aretino, Il Veritiere e’l divino, cognominato il flagello de’ Principi* (Amsterdam, 1660), p. 3.

decorum".³⁷ The Elsevier editor also shows his awareness of Aretino's artistic belief to draw from nature, which is behind the editor's anecdote of the painter's ability to fool others with his life-like depictions. In contrast, the Spanish-derived translations mention Aretino sparingly and certainly do not portray him as a naturally gifted writer.

The preface praises Aretino's ability as a writer, repeating the sentiment that is reprinted in the Barbagrìgia preface which describes him as "talented", "divine", a "fine spirit" and a "great friend of free men, mortal enemy of crooked necks, great lover of knowledge, cruel adversary of ignorance, a follower of the virtues and sour castigator of vices".³⁸ The Elsevier preface opens by declaring that:

Most minds have always held these marvellous dialogues of Aretino in great esteem, not so much for the subject material, but for their extraordinary beauty, & the singular gentility of their acute conceits, subtlety & invention.... In fact so much rests on the talent of Aretino, known to write with singular elegance on anything that is proposed to him, which is why he is surnamed 'divine', but above all of his writings, these naughty and nice dialogues are most admired & esteemed.³⁹

Other than their concern for accurate reproduction and an appreciation of Aretino as a writer, the Elsevier and the London editions are most at odds with the Xuares prefaces in the way that they address their readers. They portray their audience as able to take from a text what is good and leave what is bad, which is much the same argument as Milton uses in *Areopagitica* (1644) in which he defended the right to unlicensed printing. The reader of Aretino is imagined as an educated man: "For sure, it is not good for those who are slaves of vice, and dedicated to wrongdoings: but for wise men, virtuous and with souls of moderation, I can assure you that this work will bring them great profit and delight".⁴⁰ The Castelvetro preface similarly chastises censors "who leave no freedom" to readers who are able to discern the difference between good and bad,⁴¹ taking on an anti-Catholic tone when he declares that he is "not bothered by our Pater-noster chewers and chasers of Hail-Marys" who try to stop the printing of Aretino's works.⁴²

37 Aretino, *Capricciosi*, p. 7.

38 Aretino, *La prime parte*, A2v.

39 Aretino, *Capricciosi*, pp. 3–4.

40 Aretino, *Capricciosi*, p. 6.

41 Aretino, *La prime parte*, A2v.

42 Aretino, *La prime parte*, A2r.

Of course, it is necessary to point out that the division between an enlightened 'humanist' reading of Aretino, and the more reductive reading of the Spanish-derived translations is not so clear-cut. The Latin Frankfurt translation appends a historical treatise about the Sack of Rome for the further edification of its young readers. In comparison the Wolfe text attaches the dialogue of Zoppino, which lists Roman prostitutes. The Elsevier text reproduces this, and surviving copies of this edition were bound together with *La Puttana Errante*, another text falsely attributed to Aretino. The Elsevier edition is openly misogynistic in that 'the author' describes "the evil wickedness of women" in order to "teac[h] you how to recognise and repudiate them".⁴³ This is true for the 'Barbagrigia' preface too, which while arguing for the right to allow individuals to decide what they read, also claims that Aretino was writing to reveal to the world the "wickedness of evil women and filthiness of hypocrites".⁴⁴

The later Dutch translations of Aretino were, however, even more misogynistic. *Het Net* is accompanied by an "Addendum, indicating the evil and abominable nature of bad women, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, Church fathers and various authors", while the title page shows a picture of a brothel where a prostitute ensnares a courtier with a net emanating from between her legs. The caption underneath is taken from the 1620 text 'Selfstryt' by Father Jacob Cats, and translates as "the whore's most cordial welcomes are like gilded pills, that twinkle in your eyes, but do your body swell".

While Castelvetro and Wolfe printed Aretino's *Dialogo* as part of a collection of dialogues, Xuares's decision (followed by later translators) to isolate the *Dialogo* from the *Ragionamenti* meant that he was changing the meaning of the work. Reading the final dialogue on the art of the courtesan by itself was entirely different to reading it alongside the first two sections: the hypocrisy and promiscuity of nuns and examples of wives cuckolding their husbands. By reading the *Sei Giornate* together, Aretino attempts to show that any shame in choosing prostitution as a career is not so great considering that to choose to be a nun or a wife is still to be part of the sexual economy. Aretino's logic goes that because it is impossible for a woman to escape this involvement, to choose to make sex into a business allows the prostitutes to take control of their sexuality, rather than being enslaved by it. By isolating the dialogue on the tricks of the game, Xuares and others were ignoring Aretino's levelling of female choices, and instead upholding the 'virgin/whore' dialectic of early modern womanhood, while unsurprisingly also excising Aretino's scathing social commentary on the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church.

43 Aretino, *Capricciosi*, pp. 5–6.

44 Aretino, *La prime parte*, A3r.

The Spanish translation does of course derive from the Italian *Dialogo*, which had originally been printed separately from the *Ragionamenti*, yet in the choice to translate this specific text, whether intentionally or not, Xuares and the later translators were continuing an Italian tradition that had preceded Aretino, and bypassing altogether any contributions he had made. With the spread of syphilis at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the genre of satires on courtesans became popular, often performed by cantimbanchi.⁴⁵ Xuares, in his prefatory letter to *Coloquio de las Damas*, acknowledges this connection when he writes that he was moved to translate the dialogue because he felt that God was punishing the world for its corruption through a plague of syphilis, naming this “cruel disease” a “flood of divine justice” that is “universal to all”.⁴⁶ The Spanish translation and its variants were therefore using the Aretino text to continue a tradition that had existed beforehand, while simultaneously ignoring the additional social questions that Aretino had initiated.

Changing Reputations

By the seventeenth century we can see that there were two strands of Aretino publishing being produced in Europe. In one strand, humanist editors provided a rendering of Aretino which they believed stayed true to his authorial intention. Meanwhile the second strand, consisting of translators, chose to reproduce only one Aretino text that had proved to be popular elsewhere. In this way, they overlooked Aretino’s specific interpretation of courtesan satires, and instead reiterated the Counter Reformation’s cultural agenda. By freely translating the *Dialogo*, Aretino was almost erased from his own text. Rather than allowing the reader to interpret the text how he wished, these translations meant that the *Diologo* circulated solely as a warning to young men, and not as a work of social satire.

Despite Castelvetro revivifying the humanist approach to editing Italian texts in London, it was no match for the force of the mythology that surrounded

45 See *Purgatorio delle cortigiane* (Bologna, 1529) and *El Vanto della Cortigiana Ferarese* (Venice, 1532) – the latter performed at the 1524 carnival in Rome by the entertainer Maestro Andrea: “In the voice of a courtesan, this poem laments her rise and fall from wealthy and desired to destitute and syphilitic, and was framed as a warning to other cortegiane to reform their ways before it was too late”. Rosa Salzburg, ‘From print to piazza. Cheap print and urban culture in Renaissance Venice’ (Ph.D., Queen Mary’s College London, 2008), p. 142.

46 Fernan Xuares, *Coloquio de las Damas* (Madrid, 1607), pp. i–ii. Translation from the original Spanish.

Aretino. 'Aretine' soon became a by-word for pornography in England and elsewhere. If Wolfe's editions could circulate on the continent, then so too could continental editions influence the English. By 1658, an English translation, *The Crafty Whore*, claimed to be based on the Elsevier *Capricciosi*, yet it did not hold the same humanist tenets. The title was a translation of *Puttana Errante*, a text constantly misattributed to Aretino, and its subtitle: "the mistery and iniquity of bawdy houses laid open, in a dialogue between two subtle bawds (Antonia and Thais), wherein, as in a mirroure, our city-courtesans may see their soul-destroying art" was a composite of the subtitles of the French translations. In the preface, echoes of the Dutch text *Het Net* reverberate. Claiming that "I have herein done as your Physicians do with their bitter pills, that is gild them, to invite their patients to swallow them" the anonymous translator uses imagery reminiscent of *Het Net's* title page, which speaks of courtesans as "gilded pills".⁴⁷

By the Interregnum, any work that Castelvetro had done to present Aretino as an author respected for his natural style had seemingly no impact on the Europe-wide representation of him as a pornographer. It is, however, worth pointing out that the translators of Aretino's work were actually opening up his writing (however transformed through the process of translation) to a wider audience than the Wolfe or Elsevier editions could have hoped to reach through reproducing the original Italian. Translation is a popular act, trying to overcome the boundaries of language.

Castelvetro may have hoped that his and Wolfe's edited collections of Aretino would provide readers with an alternative to the populist continental editions of Aretino, yet Wolfe, ever the consummate businessman, knew when to cut his losses. Specialist markets are dependent on specialist readers. The Europe-wide audience for Aretino was changing, and rather than coterie members like Gerbrand Bredero using Wolfe's editions as copy-texts, the writer of *The Crafty Whore* relied more on fellow continental translations that continued a tradition of warning young men to beware prostitutes than a work printed in his own country. Castelvetro and Wolfe's Aretino project remains as an example of how a specialised team of editors and publishers had attempted to shape the reception of a contemporary author, whose image appeared on their title pages with the inscription: "Pietro Aretino cognominato il Flagello dei Principi, il Veritiero, el Divino". It was this, Aretino's reputation as the 'flagello dei principi' or the 'scourge of princes', that would last beyond the confines of Wolfe's book shop on Distaff Lane.

47 *The crafty whore, or, the mistery and iniquity of bawdy houses laid open* (London, 1658), A2v.

Early Printed Book Sale Catalogues from Seville: The Extension of the European Book Market into Mexico (1680–1689)

Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí Ruiz

The Book Market in Seville and America

The discovery and colonisation of the Americas by the Spanish Crown aided the expansion of the European book market. Demand for books in American cities generated trade from Seville, the city that monopolised the distribution of goods via the *Carrera de Indias* (the Route to the Indies).¹ Ships that crossed the Atlantic frequently carried boxes of books. Out of a sample of 759 ships that sailed to America between 1601 and 1650, a total of 314 boats (41%) had books registered among their goods.² The Atlantic trade route between Europe and the Spanish viceroyalties in the Americas helped to expand the market for European printed material worldwide.³ To cover the new markets, booksellers diversified their strategies for advertising the latest titles.⁴

In this paper, we analyse Tomás López de Haro's family business. This bookseller from Seville worked and traded in books from the 1660s until the end of the seventeenth century. After López de Haro's death, his heirs continued to print works in Seville and ship them to the Americas regularly until 1722.⁵ The López de Haro family's prominence in the Seville book business and its role in international trade made it one of the most active groups of book merchants

1 Rafael Antúñez y Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación y gobierno del comercio de los españoles con sus colonias en las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, en la imprenta de Sancha, 1797).

2 Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural. El comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 2005).

3 Werner Thomas & César Manrique, 'La infraestructura de la globalización. La imprenta flamenca y la construcción del imperio hispánico en América', in Patrick Collard, Miguel Norbert Ubarri & Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez (eds.), *Encuentros de ayer y reencuentros de hoy. Flandes, Países Bajos y el mundo hispánico en los siglos XVI–XVII* (Ghent, Academia Press, 2009), pp. 45–71.

4 This paper forms part of the R+D+I Project and Census of Spanish bookseller catalogues (from the earliest to 1840), Ref. HAR 2009-08763 of the Ministry of Science and Innovation.

5 Francisco Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense* (Seville, Ayuntamiento, 1999).

and printers from Seville with the greatest investment capacity in the reign of Charles II (1661–1700).⁶

In 1649, the plague devastated Seville and the book trade was affected considerably. It would take years to recover, but in the 1670s and 1680s there was an upturn in book sales in Mexico and Peru.⁷ At this time, Tomás López de Haro was deeply involved in the book trade. He established new sales strategies by publishing book catalogues, renewing the movable type in his printing press and negotiating the publication of books that he printed in Seville and in the Low Countries. He also published editions with false imprints and forged editions.⁸

Sales Catalogues: The International Expansion of the European Book Market

The first known book sale catalogue to be printed in Spain is titled *Index librorum*. It was published in 1597 by the bookseller Simón Vaselini in Madrid. This is the only sixteenth-century Spanish catalogue to have been found to date.⁹ In 1929, the historian José Torre Revelló revealed a rare book catalogue that was probably printed in Seville in 1689 “for sale in the Indies”.¹⁰ The news was received with great interest, as this was the first catalogue to be printed in Europe for selling books in the Spanish Crown’s American territories. The

- 6 Clara Palmiste, ‘Los mercaderes de libros e impresores flamencos en Sevilla. Organización de las redes mercantiles en Europa y América (1680–1750)’, in Ana Crespo Solana (coord.), *Comunidades transnacionales. Colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el mundo Atlántico (1500–1830)* (Aranjuez, Doce Calles, 2010), pp. 251–270.
- 7 Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *New world literacy. Writing and culture across the Atlantic, 1500–1700* (Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2011); Pedro Rueda Ramírez, ‘El comercio de libros en la Carrera de las Indias, 1601–1650’, in Carmen Castañeda (coord.), *Del autor al lector. I. La historia del libro en México y II. La historia del libro* (Mexico, CIESAS. CONACYT. Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2002), pp. 45–69.
- 8 Juan Montero, ‘Las ediciones del *Discurso de la verdad* en el siglo XVII (con nuevos datos sobre una edición desconocida: Jerez, Juan Antonio Tarazona, 1678)’, in *Estudios sobre Miguel Mañara. Su figura y su época. Santidad, historia y arte* (Seville, Hermandad de la Santa Caridad, 2011), pp. 343–353.
- 9 Fernando Bouza, ‘El mecenazgo real y el libro. Impresores y bibliotecas en la corte de Felipe II’, in *Congreso Internacional Las sociedades ibéricas y el mar a finales del siglo XVI* (Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V; Sociedad Estatal Lisboa ‘98, 1998), vol. I, pp. 131–156.
- 10 José Torre Revelló, *Un catálogo impreso de libros para vender en las Indias occidentales en el siglo XVII* (Madrid, Francisco Beltrán, 1930).

catalogue had been published in Andalusia. Information about book sale catalogues has emerged frequently over the years. For example, in 1945, A. Rodríguez-Moñino published a list of known Spanish book catalogues, of which only three were associated with the seventeenth century.¹¹ Two of these were inventories of Madrid libraries that were put on sale after their owners died. The third was the *Catalogo, o memoria de libros de todas facultades* (Seville, 1689) that contained books “for sale in the Indies”. The importance of this catalogue deserves to be highlighted, but the information should be corrected and expanded. New studies have recently found catalogues that were published in Seville in 1680, 1682, 1683 and 1687. This changes historians’ views of the role of Seville booksellers in the emergence of printed catalogues to promote book sales. To get an idea of their importance, the first book sale catalogue for the American British colonies was printed in Boston in 1693. It contained books for sale that had belonged to the Reverend Samuel Lee.

The European booksellers’ sales catalogues were linked to trade between book merchants and at trade fairs, particularly those of Frankfurt and Leipzig.¹² However, the Seville catalogues had different origins, as they were aimed at driving demand in Andalusia and in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. This was due to the Seville booksellers’ key role in the book trade via the *Carrera de Indias*.¹³

The Seville catalogues were for colonial customers, who were offered the new works that had been transported in ships on the Atlantic trade route. In fact, the five Seville catalogues were printed for the Mexican territory, to advertise the books that could be purchased from Tomás López de Haro’s intermediaries. All of the listed books had been shipped from Spain. In this way, Seville

11 Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Catálogos de libreros españoles. 1661–1798. Intento bibliográfico* (Madrid, Tip. de los Sucesores de J. Sánchez Ocaña, 1942) and Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Historia de los catálogos de librería españoles (1661–1840). Estudio bibliográfico* (Madrid, 1966).

12 Christian Coppins, ‘A census of printers’ and booksellers’ catalogues up to 1600’, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 89/4 (1995), pp. 447–455.

13 Klaus Wagner, ‘Flamencos en el comercio de libros en España. Juan Lippeo, mercader de libros y agente de los Bellère de Amberes’, in Pedro M. Cátedra & María Luisa López-Vidriero (eds.), *El libro antiguo español. VI De libros, librerías, imprenta y lectores* (Salamanca, Universidad-SEMYR, 2002), pp. 431–498; François López, ‘Gentes y oficios de la librería española a mediados del siglo XVIII’, *Nueva revista de filología hispánica*, 33 (1984), pp. 165–185; Rosario Márquez Macías, ‘La actividad cultural en los puertos del Caribe en el siglo XVIII. El caso del comercio de libros’, in Jorge Enrique Elías Caro & Antonino Vidal Ortega (eds.), *Ciudades portuarias en la gran cuenca del Caribe. Visión histórica* (Barranquilla, Ediciones Uninorte, 2010), pp. 37–73.

booksellers used catalogues to advertise the new titles that had been sent and to promote book sales.

The 1680 Catalogue

The first catalogue to be published was called *Catalogus librorum, o memoria de libros de todo genero de facultades, que se venden en casa de Diego Cranze en esta ciudad* ([Seville] by Diego Cranze, 1680).¹⁴ On the title page a woodcut engraving showed the martyrs Saints Justa and Rufina holding up the Giralda Tower of Seville Cathedral – an allegory of their protective role as patrons of the city. In addition to publishing the catalogue, Diego Cranze travelled to Mexico to sell books. These journeys were crucial to the distribution business and the establishment of trade networks.¹⁵

In 1680, Cranze arrived in Puebla de los Ángeles (which is now called Puebla de Zaragoza) with a large consignment of books and contacted Francisco Flores de Valdés, the representative of the Inquisition. The bookseller handed over the permit that he had obtained in Seville and the Inquisition representative had no qualms about a few books, confiscating others that seemed suspicious and, most importantly for Cranze, giving him permission to “open his boxes of books and sell them” in Puebla de los Ángeles, the second largest city in the Mexican territory that was part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.¹⁶ Despite the censorship and loss of several books, Cranze managed to sell a wide range of academic titles from the best European printing presses.

Manuela Teresa Cranze, Diego Cranze’s sister, had married the printer and bookseller Tomás López de Haro. These family ties are essential to understanding the publication of the catalogue. Diego Cranze made the Atlantic voyage several times. This is an important fact, as it shows the continuity of his business activities on the Atlantic trade route. In 1672, he stated that he was in Seville “about to depart for the kingdoms of *Tierra Firme* of the Indies”. He

14 Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (AGN). Inquisición, vol. 667, f. 348r-352r; Pedro Rueda Ramírez, ‘The globalisation of the European book market. Diego Cranze’s *Catalogus librorum* (Seville, 1680) and the sale of books in New Spain’, in Natalia Maillard Álvarez (ed.), *Books in the Catholic world during the early modern period* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), pp. 51–69.

15 Clive Griffin, ‘Itinerant booksellers, printers and pedlars in sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal’, in Robin Myers (ed.), *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade* (New Castle, Oak Knoll Press, 2007), pp. 43–59; Federico Palomo, ‘Misioneros, libros y cultura escrita en Portugal y España durante el siglo XVII’, in Charlotte de Castelneau-L’Estoile (ed.), *Missions d’évangélisation et circulation des savoirs, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2011), pp. 131–150.

16 Francisco Pérez Salazar, *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial. Dos familias de impresores mexicanos del siglo XVII* (Puebla, Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1987).

made the journey, and in 1673 he was trading on the other side of the Atlantic. The merchant Juan García de Zurita shipped nine boxes of books to Crance from Seville. In this case, Crance was acting for Tomás López de Haro, who had sent 223 titles (857 copies) in the boxes.¹⁷ Once Crance had sold the books, he returned to Spain. In 1678, he was in Seville again “about to depart for the province of New Spain of the Indies in the fleet that currently ships to that province under the charge of General don Diego de Córdoba”.¹⁸ In 1678, Tomás López de Haro lent money to Crance, specifically “one hundred and twenty thousand reals in billon coins”. This was a considerable amount of money that shows the close collaboration between the two men and their involvement in business in New Spain. The money was for travel expenses and to pay for goods shipped to Mexico.¹⁹

The works listed in Crance's *Memoria* are divided into two main blocks: first the Latin books, then the “Romance language” books, that is, those written in vernacular language, which was Spanish in this case. The division between the two blocks is clear and there are twice as many Latin titles (409 or 67.5%) as Spanish (197 or 32.5%). The high proportion of Latin titles indicates that there were many books on law, theology, medicine, mathematics and astronomy published in foreign printing presses, particularly those in Lyon, Venice and Amsterdam. What is interesting about this catalogue is the wide range of titles on offer, covering academic, practical and applied knowledge. The diverse works include medical books such as *Observationes anatomicae, ex cadaveribus eorum, quos sustulit apoplexia* by Johann Jacob Wepfer and the studies of Gaspar Schott (1608–1678) on *Anatomia physico-hydrostatica fontium ac fluminum*. The catalogue also contains works about the Americas such as *De indiarum iure sive de iusta indiarum occidentalium gubernatione* by Juan de Solórzano Pereira (1575–1655) or the Latin translation of the book by the chronicler Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1549–1625), *Novus orbis sive descriptio Indiae occidentalis*. In addition, there are liturgical texts and popular devotional works like *Perfecto Christiano* by Juan González de Criptana. The wide range and diversity of the books for sale is a notable aspect of the catalogue.

The 1682 and 1683 Catalogues

In 1682 and 1683, Tomás López de Haro published two book sale catalogues. The first was *Catalogo, o memoria de libros, de todas facultades* (Seville, 1682)

17 Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (AGI). Contratación, 1223.

18 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla (AHPSe). Protocolos, leg. 13010 (oficio 19), f. 427r-v. 1678.

19 AHPSe. Protocolos, leg. 13010 (oficio 19), f. 427r-v. 1678.

(Fig. 12.1). The second was a supplement entitled *Catalogo segundo, o memoria de libros de todas facultades* (Seville, 1683).²⁰ Clearly visible on the title page is the statement that the books are “for sale in the house of Captain Fernando Romero”. This gives us an important clue, as the captain took the catalogue to New Spain, shipped the books and put them up for sale in the port of Veracruz. Fernando Romero was therefore directly involved in book distribution. He was closely linked to the bookseller Tomás López de Haro’s business. He acted as López de Haro’s guarantor on various occasions, participated actively in marketing books via the Atlantic trade route and was also responsible for taking “eight small boxes of letter blocks” to New Spain in 1692.

Both catalogues state that the books are “for sale in the house of Captain Fernando Romero” and that they are “to sell in Vera Cruz, Puebla de los Ángeles and the city of Mexico”. In the 1680s, shippers played an essential role in the trans-Atlantic trade of goods. These shippers, many of whom were captains, could act as intermediaries in the transport of goods and take charge of their sale in the new Spanish territories. They ensured that silver was sent back to Spain as payment for the books and they provided security in a difficult economic climate, with a high level of risk in trans-Atlantic business. Fernando Romero y Torres shipped books via the *Carrera de Indias* from 1683 to 1692; a period that almost exactly coincides with that in which Tomás López de Haro’s printing press was in operation, from 1678 to 1693. In 1682, Romero obtained a permit for the Indies as a shipper. This authorisation, which was granted by the *Casa de la Contratación* (House of Trade), enabled him to set sail the following year.²¹ He requested other permits for the Indies in 1687, 1689, 1692, as a business agent travelling with his black slave and once again shipping books, and 1695.²² These five journeys on the Route to the Indies give an idea of the continuity of his business activities.

The 1682 catalogue began with religious books, listed in order of size, followed by works on law, medicine and the humanities. This last category included a wide range of books on history, literature, music (*Luz, y norte musical, para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra española* by Lucas Ruíz de Ribayaz) and science, such as Juan Bravo de Sobremonte’s work based on the appearance of Halley’s Comet in 1680. In addition, the two catalogues listed over 130 short plays; each one was a printed comedy that was ready for sale at a reasonable price. The catalogues reflect the richness of Spanish theatre in the Golden

20 AGN. Inquisición, vol. 657, f. 496r-51v.

21 AGI. Contratación, 5540A, libro 3, f. 220.

22 AGI. Contratación, 5540A, libro 3, f. 240v-241; 5540A, libro 3, f. 257v; 5540B, libro 5, f. 204v; 5540B, libro 5, f. 221.

CATALOGO, O MEMORIA DE LIBROS, DE TODAS FACULTADES.

Se venden en casa del Capitan
Fernando Romero.

Con licencia de la Santa Inquisicion.

Para vender en Vera Cruz, y la Puebla
de los Angeles, y la Ciudad
de Mexico.



E N S E V I L L A. 1682.

En la Oficina de Tomas Lopez de Haro,
Impreffor, y Mercader de libros.

FIGURE 12.1 Catalogo, o memoria de libros, de todas facultades (Seville, 1682)

Age: some of the comedies were by the most popular authors in the public theatres of the time, such as Lope de Vega or Pedro Calderón de la Barca; others were by Felipe Godínez or Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón, including *El rayo de Andalucía y genízaro de España*, in which the plot deals with revenge and is based on the legend of the Seven Infants of Lara that is described in medieval chronicles.

The 1687 Catalogue

The *Catalogo o memoria de libros de todas facultades* (Seville, Tomás López de Haro, 1687) stated on the title page that the books were “for sale in the house of captain D. Fernando Romero” and that they would be sold “in Vera-Cruz, in Puebla de los Ángeles, and in Ciudad de México”.²³ This information is identical to that provided for potential customers in the earlier catalogues of 1682 and 1683. Fernando Romero again played the role of agent or factor on the Atlantic trade route. He was responsible for loading the books on the ships, receiving them in Veracruz and selling them to customers in the Americas.

Fernando Romero was in Seville getting ready to “travel to the province of the Indies of New Spain”. The “master printer” Tomás López de Haro and the merchant Salvador Vélez de Guevara gave Fernando Romero power of attorney to represent them in their common business.²⁴ The next step was to load the books onto ships plying the *Carrera de Indias*. On 22 May 1687, Fernando Romero submitted a record sheet for loading the ship *Santa Cruz* with “twenty small boxes of books numbered 1 to 20” that had to be delivered to him “in the port of Veracruz, first to himself”.²⁵ The record sheet does not mention López de Haro or list the titles of the books, but they were clearly the works that were detailed in the 1687 catalogue.

The 1687 catalogue was divided into four sections: religious books, law books, medical books and “miscellaneous books or those on the humanities”. This latter section included scientific books such as *De origine fontium* (Oxford, 1685) by Robert Plot “custodiæ Musæi Ashmoleani Oxoniæ præpositum et Regiæ Societatis Londini secretarium” and *Planisphaerium stellatum* by Jakob Bartsch. It gathered together a considerable range of books on astronomy and geographical studies, such as *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* by Palladius (with an edition published in London in 1668). The catalogue also listed Catholic religious books and works on the lives of saints, including *Acta Sanctorum* by Jean Bolland (1596–1665), which is one of the most prominent works of erudition in the seventeenth century, as well as a wide range of devotional works,

23 AGN. Inquisición, 1086, exp. 11, f. 254r-263r.

24 AHPSe. Protocolos, leg. 5139 (oficio 7), f. 649r-v. 1687.

25 AGI. Contratación, 1243. *Santa Cruz*, f. 50r.

history books (royal chronicles, European and Asian history) and some books for entertainment, including *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* by Miguel de Cervantes, Horace in Latin and classics by Marcus Aurelius, Valerius and others translated into Spanish.

The 1689 Catalogue

The fifth Seville book catalogue from the seventeenth century was titled *Catalogo, o memoria de todas facultades* [s.l., s.n., s.a.], although it is quite likely that it was published in around 1689 in Seville. In this case, there was no title page or colophon.²⁶ The catalogue stated that the books were “for sale in the house of Captain Diego Ibáñez”. Captain Diego Ibáñez de Guevara was a regular shipper on the trade route to the Indies and an agent of the López de Haro family. On 10 January 1690, Manuela Crance, Tomás López de Haro’s wife, loaded “twelve small boxes of books”²⁷ onto the ship *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* and “ten boxes of books” onto the ship *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*.²⁸ These 22 boxes of books were to be delivered to Captain Diego Ibáñez de Guevara in Veracruz. They probably contained the titles listed in the 1689 catalogue. The catalogue would have been printed and the boxes packed to take to customs in Seville in January 1690.

The structure of the 1689 catalogue is different from the others. The books are listed by format and language (folios and quartos in Latin; folios, quartos, octavos and small books in Romance languages). In the earlier catalogues, the division by subject (and within each subject, by format and language) attempted to reflect the most common themes. This division was abandoned in the 1689 catalogue, perhaps because it was drawn up hurriedly and rather carelessly, as shown by both the contents and the number of misprints. Nevertheless, it included a selection of 370 titles of all kinds, although the offering was not as diverse and rich as in the earlier catalogues. In this case, the aim seemed to be to sell a variety of common texts: religious and devotional works, collections of sermons, comedies, novels such as *Vida del pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache* by Mateo Alemán (1547–1615) and poems like *Obras* by Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) from Córdoba.

The Structure of the Catalogues

In *Memoria* by Crance, the Latin books are divided into four sections: theology, law, medicine and “miscellany”, in which we can find a wide range of

26 AGI. Contratación, 674.

27 AGI. Contratación, 1247. *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, f. 82.

28 AGI. Contratación, 1247. *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, f. 55.

humanistic works. We can relate this structure to the title page, which stated “books from all kinds of faculties”. A four-part structure was also used in the 1682 and 1687 catalogues, with an identical division for the listing of Latin books. A century later, in 1760, the bookseller and printer Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros (1713–1781) published a sales catalogue for Latin books that contained 1,160 titles.²⁹ Espinosa de los Monteros kept the division into four subject areas and the same order, with the religious books at the beginning and the humanities at the end (Fig. 12.2).

FIGURE 12.2 *Structural comparison of the Crance, López de Haro and Espinosa de los Monteros catalogues*

<i>Catalogus</i> (Seville, 1680) by Diego Crance	<i>Catálogo</i> (Seville, 1682) by Tomás López de Haro	<i>Catálogo</i> (Seville, 1687) by Tomás López de Haro	<i>Catálogo</i> (Cádiz, 1760) by Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros
<i>Libri theologici</i>	<i>Libros Teológicos</i>	<i>Libros Theológicos</i>	<i>Catalogus librorum theologicorum</i>
<i>Libri iuridici</i>	<i>Libros Iurídicos</i>	<i>Libros Jurídicos</i>	<i>Librorum iuridicorum civil et canonic.</i>
<i>Libri medicorum</i>	<i>Libros Médicos</i>	<i>Libros de Medicina</i>	<i>Librorum medicorum, sicut et chirurgicorum, anatomicorum, pharmaceuticorum, botanicorum, & chimicorum</i>
<i>Libri miscellanei</i>	<i>Libros Misselánicos, o de Letras Humanas</i>	<i>Libros Misselánicos, o de Letras Humanas</i>	<i>Miscellaneorum sive historicum, grammati- corum, philosophico- rum, mathematicorum, geographicorum, politicorum, numismaticorum, & quorumque humaniores artes spectantium</i>

29 Biblioteca Palafoxiana, 40085-A; Pedro Rueda Ramírez, ‘Libros venales. Los catálogos de los libreros andaluces (siglos XVII–XVIII)’, *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia*, 11 (2012), pp. 195–222.

Tomás López de Haro, Merchant of Books

López de Haro worked as a printer from 1678 to 1693 in the city of Seville. He published a large number of titles, some of which were closely related to the Americas.³⁰ In 1684, he printed *Arte y gramática general de la lengua...de Chile* by Luis de Valdivia, although his printing press is better known for the publication of *Obras* (1692) by Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz. The history of publishing in Seville was revived considerably by López de Haro's activity as a printer. He also contributed to the recovery of the book trade in the American vicerealties. The establishment of his printing press cannot be considered in isolation from the Atlantic matters with which he was closely associated. This was generally true of Seville printers and bookseller-publishers. However, López de Haro combined two functions and worked both in production and distribution as a "book merchant". In placing himself in the category of "book merchant", López de Haro made his position very clear to his contemporaries. He presented himself as a wholesale and retail seller of books, more a trader than a craftsman, a merchant with financial means rather than just a master printer or a bookseller. This path had already been taken by other bookseller-publishers such as Francisco de Aguilar, an important book trader on the Atlantic route. In his will, this trader asked to be buried in the Dominican convent of San Pablo, with an image of Our Lady of Antigua in his niche and a plaque reading here lies Francisco de Aguilar "book merchant, pray to God for his soul".³¹

López de Haro had close professional relationships with the colony of foreigners in Seville from the Low Countries and Holland, and his marriage was crucial to consolidating his position.³² His wife, Manuela Crance, would continue with her husband's business. Like her brother, she was actively involved in trade via the *Carrera de Indias*. The catalogues described above indicate that large numbers of books were imported to Seville from other countries. In this area, López de Haro acted like other Seville booksellers. He constantly traded with his European counterparts, who sent him new titles to sell in the Americas. Pedro de Santiago

30 Juan Delgado Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles (siglos XV–XVII)* (Madrid, Arco Libros, 1996), vol. I, pp. 393–394.

31 Natalia Maillard & Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *Orbe tipográfico. El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón, Trea, 2003), p. 48.

32 Eddy Stols, 'Artisans et commerçants flamands dans le Mexique colonial', in *Les Belges et le Mexique. Dix contributions à l'histoire des relations Belgique-Mexique* (Louvain, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1993), pp. 1–7; Jaime Moll, 'Amberes y el mundo hispánico', in Werner Thomas & Robert A. Verdonk (eds.), *Encuentros en Flandes. Relaciones e intercambios hispano-flamencos a inicios de la Edad Moderna* (Leuven, Leuven University Press; Soria, Fundación Duques de Soria, 2000), pp. 117–131.

acted in the same manner, as he received books sent from Antwerp by Henricus and Cornelis Verdussen. The titles received in Seville were regularly shipped to the Americas.³³ The ties between Belgian and Dutch territories and Seville also aided the publication of books, as many texts were sent to printing presses in these territories or were translated and published in several languages.³⁴

The Journey to the Americas: Supplying the Viceroyalties

Two administrative procedures had to be followed to ship books to Mexico. The shipper had to take the boxes to the customs of Seville and follow a procedure before the royal officers of the *Casa de la Contratación*. Second, he had to appear before the Seville Inquisitors.³⁵ The boxes would then be taken out of the customs of Seville and loaded onto the small boats that took goods 43 miles along the Guadalquivir River to the river mouth at Sanlúcar de Barrameda. At this port or in the neighbouring port of Cádiz, ships from the fleet that sailed to New Spain would be waiting. These procedures led to the creation of many documents, for both the civil authorities and the Inquisitors. When a ship arrived at Veracruz, a representative of the Mexican Inquisitors would board to ensure that no forbidden books entered the territory. Once the books had been checked, they were unloaded and the owners could take them to their warehouses. When transport had been arranged, the boxes of books would be taken to Puebla de los Ángeles and from there to Mexico. In the case of Diego Crance, once he had arrived at the Port of Veracruz and completed the customs

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- 33 Stijn van Rossem, 'The bookshop of the Counter-Reformation revisited. The Verdussen company and the trade in Catholic publications, Antwerp, 1585–1648', *Quaerendo. A Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*, 38/4 (2008), pp. 306–321; Stijn van Rossem, 'En Amberes. La imprenta de los Verdussen y la comercialización de sus libros en el mundo iberoamericano', in Werner Thomas & Eddy Stols (eds.), *Un mundo sobre papel. Libros y grabados flamencos en el imperio hispanoportugués (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Leuven, Den Haag; Acco, 2009), pp. 83–100; Clara Palmiste, 'Aspectos de la circulación de libros entre Sevilla y América (1689–1740)', in Antonio Gutiérrez Escudero & María Luisa Laviana Cuetos (eds.), *Estudios sobre América, siglos XVI–XX* (Seville, Asociación Española de Americanistas, 2005), pp. 831–842.
- 34 Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas Méridionaux* (Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1965); Jean Peeters-Fontainas, 'Le *Don Quijote* daté de Bruxelles, Pedro de la Calle, 1671', *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, 4 (1958), pp. 8–13.
- 35 Natalia Maillard, 'Estrategias de los profesionales del libro sevillanos ante el Santo Oficio. Entre la evasión y la colaboración', in Pedro Rueda Ramírez (ed.), *El libro en circulación en el mundo moderno en España y Latinoamérica* (Madrid, Calambur, 2012), pp. 23–44.

procedures, he had to start out for a large city in which he could easily sell the books.³⁶ Crance was thorough and sent a copy of the printed catalogue to Francisco Flores de Valdés, the representative of the Inquisition in Puebla de los Ángeles. As a result, this agent of the Holy Order had a copy of the catalogue (and sent one to the Mexican inquisitors), checked the list and confiscated several books when the boxes arrived in the city. On 21 December 1680, Flores de Valdés wrote to the Mexican Inquisitors to inform them of the four books that he had withheld. Interestingly, in this case he provided details of the confiscated works:

I have taken the Instituta of Arnolfo Vino [Arnoldus Vinnius (1588–1657). *In quatuor libros institutionum imperialium commentarius academicus & forensis*] and three *a quartilla* volumes by Juan Bisembacho in digest [in Latin, Matthaei Wesembecii, he was in fact the legal writer Matthias van Wesembeke (1531–1586). *In Pandectas Iuris Ciuilis et Codicis Iustiniani*] and the Instituta by Schenedeiuiini [Johann Schneidewein (1519–1568). *In quatuor Institutionum Imperialium Iustiniani Imp. Libros, Commentarij*] and two small books in duodecimo on Florentine history by Nicholas Macchiavelo and three octavo volumes titled *Origine juris romani* [*De origine & progressu juris civilis Romani authores & fragmenta veterum jurisconsultorum*] as it has notes by Arnolfo Vino [Arnoldus Vinnius (1588–1657)]. Which by my mandate I confiscate from Diego Crance, a bookseller who came with the recently arrived fleet under don Gaspar de Velasco, and at whose request I issue this notice in Los Angeles on the 21st of December 1680.

The four titles mentioned were all listed in the catalogue among the books on law and the miscellaneous books. In the case of the commentaries on the Justinian Code by Vinnius and Wesembeke the works were listed under the names of the author, but the book by Machiavelli was listed in the catalogue simply as “Historia florentina” with no mention of the author’s name. In addition to these confiscated books, Crance had other problems, as he was reported by some of his book customers. Despite the difficulties, it seems that he was able to continue to sell the books and return to Seville, where he

36 Pedro Rueda Ramírez, ‘Libreros y librerías poblanas. La oferta cultural en el mundo moderno’, in Marina Garone Gravier (ed.), *Miradas a la cultura del libro en Puebla. Bibliotecas, tipógrafos, grabadores, libreros y ediciones en la época colonial* (Mexico, Ediciones de Educación y Cultura. Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliotecológicas, UNAM, 2012), pp. 377–400.

carried on with his business. However, he did not publish any more book sale catalogues.

In 1683, he was still awaiting payment for books sold in Puebla de los Ángeles. Crance signed a power of attorney letter so that Captain Fernando Romero (who sold books as an agent for Tomás López de Haro in 1683) could travel to Puebla on his behalf to recover the money owed by several people, for example to “collect payment from Dr. D. José de Francia Vaca, a priest of the parish of *San José* in the city of Puebla de los Ángeles, 510 [pesos] of common gold that he undertook to pay me”.³⁷ This priest had studied at the University of Mexico and had an outstanding professional career in Puebla. By 1686, he was the canon responsible for all matters related to the Holy Scriptures at the church of Puebla de los Ángeles. In 1694, he was vice-rector of the colleges of San Pedro, San Ildefonso and San Juan de Puebla.³⁸

Conclusions

The analysis of the five Seville book catalogues for sales in New Spain indicate that Tomás López de Haro, bookseller and printer, was a common link between them. López de Haro established a book distribution network in American territories with members of his family and merchants of the *Carrera de Indias*. His relationships with foreigners who had settled in Seville help to explain the ease with which he obtained books from cities such as Antwerp or Leiden, which had extensive book trade networks. The catalogues contained numerous works published in the Low Countries and Holland. They also show that his shop received new titles published in Venice, Paris and Cologne, to be sold in the Viceroyalty of New Spain by means of printed sale catalogues.

The first known book sale catalogue for New Spain was published in 1680 by Diego Crance. This bookseller also travelled to Mexico to sell the books. Crance played an active role in trans-Atlantic trade, due to his relationship with the book merchant López de Haro, who lent him money and was also his brother-in-law. The problems that Crance encountered with the representative of the Inquisition in Puebla de los Ángeles may have brought about a change in strategy in the López de Haro family's subsequent catalogues. In the 1682, 1683 and 1687 catalogues, the intermediary was named as Captain Romero, one of Tomás López de Haro's agents, who shipped the books and sold them in Mexico. In the 1689 catalogue, the last that we know of, the

37 AHPSe. Protocolos, leg. 8673 (oficio 14), libro 1, f. 420r-v. 1683.

38 AGI. Indiferente, 211, n° 68.

intermediary was Captain Diego Ibáñez, who frequently performed this role on the *Carrera de Indias*.

In addition to the printed catalogues, a large number of documents are available on the shipment of books in Seville. This material enables us to establish that Tomás López de Haro and his wife, Manuela Crance, were involved in the Atlantic trade route as booksellers. The documents show that large numbers of books were loaded onto ships at the same time as the catalogues were published.

The transport of European books in such large quantities is a clear indicator of the international expansion of the sale of printed material through the Atlantic networks. The constant book trade contributed to the consolidation of trading networks that were based in Seville. This helps us to understand the interest in publishing printed catalogues to sell in Mexico the books that had been brought to the shops of Seville.

The networks of Seville booksellers managed to control the supply of books in the territories of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The role of these booksellers as intermediaries in the Atlantic trade in books enabled them to consolidate their businesses and led to patterns of international connections that promoted the international expansion of the European book market.

PART 3

'Print On-Demand': Reader-led Specialisation



Printers of the Greek Classics and Market Distribution in the Sixteenth Century: The Case of France and the Low Countries¹

Natasha Constantinidou

In the dedicatory epistle to the reader of Xenophon's *Apomnemoneumata* of 1529, Rutgerus Rescius justified his printing enterprise as a way of providing texts for his own students and for all who wished to study. The epistle also claimed that he had been teaching Greek “not as he wished, but as he could”, since there had always been a want of books from which to read.² This example illustrates the desire and requirement to learn Greek and the consequent need for books in that language in the early part of the sixteenth century. The learning of Greek, the means to accessing the writings of the classics, required a number of books to be published during the first century of print. Together with the texts themselves, it also required a number of books that would help with language learning, such as grammars and dictionaries. In the course of the century the activity of scholars also generated a number of books: commentaries, studies and analyses, as well as imitative and laudatory poetry.

The business of printing Greek classical books needed a specific audience, special typesets, editors and proof-readers who mastered the language. It involved a number of printers who entered the market from different positions and with different intentions and audiences in mind. This essay will consider

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- 1 The author would like to thank the Scaliger Institute (University of Leiden) for the award of a Scaliger Fellowship, which enabled a great part of the research presented here. The following abbreviations are used in this essay: USTC: Universal Short Title Catalogue, www.ustc.ac.uk; GW: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke; ISTC: Incunabula Short Title Catalogue LUL: Leiden University Library; BL: British Library; Bodl.: Bodleian Library, Oxford; MPM: Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp; NB: Andrew Pettegree & Malcolm Walsby (eds.), *Netherlandish books. Books published in the Low Countries and Dutch books published abroad before 1601* (2 vols., Boston/Leiden, Brill, 2010); FVB: Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby & Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), *French vernacular books. Books published in the French Language before 1601* (2 vols., Boston/Leiden, Brill, 2007); FB III & IV: A. Pettegree & M. Walsby (eds.), *French books III & IV. Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French* (2 vols., Boston/Leiden, Brill, 2011).
 - 2 Xenophon, *Απομνημονευμάτων βιβλία τέσσερα* (Louvain, Rutgerus Rescius and Johanness Strum, 1529), Dedicatory Epistle, A1r.

some aspects of this highly specialised market examining two areas, France and the Low Countries and some of the printers who produced editions of the Greek classics. Juxtaposing the two domains will help illustrate the main features of this business as well as the different market distribution relative to how many printers each market could support at any one time.

The printed Greek classical text only gradually increased its popularity in the course of the century in the original in areas outside Italy and north of the Alps.³ Research into the books, here classified as Greek classics, printed in France and the Low Countries has yielded a total number of about 1258 editions.⁴ Editions of the classical texts amount to 839. Relative to this, the editions of grammars and dictionaries comes to 237, while contemporary works imitating the classical tradition amount to 114.⁵ Editions of the Greek classics correspond to about 1% of the total output of each of the two domains under investigation.⁶ Evidently, the printing history and market trends of these two areas are very different. Their differences are immediately apparent when one considers their output and its geographical distribution. As can be seen from the relevant graph (Fig. 13.1), the printing of the Greek classics in France was clearly dominated by Paris, with Lyon following. This is not incongruous with the overall picture of French printing in the sixteenth century though it is clear

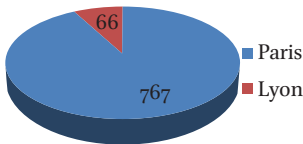


FIGURE 13.1

Printing of the Greek classics in France according to place of publication

- 3 Paul Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529. Grammars, lexica and classroom texts* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 2010), p. xiii.
- 4 In this essay 'Greek classics' will include the following categories. First, editions of the classical texts themselves, either wholly in Greek or bilingual (Greek and Latin). Second, grammars and dictionaries for the aid of teaching and learning the language. And finally, texts composed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century in Greek in a dialogue with the classical sources, but also texts by famous hellenists of their times such as Guillaume Budé (his correspondence was published in Greek and Latin). This category, however, does not include the peculiar trend of laudatory poetry printed in Greek. Evidently, it is difficult to divide the Greek production into classics and religious texts in the original; this essay, however, only concentrates on the former, as these represent the overwhelming majority of the printers' Greek production.
- 5 Information relating to these editions originates primarily from the *USTC*.
- 6 See the total figures in the respective bibliographies: for the Low Countries 348 editions can be identified out of the total output of 32,812 editions recorded in *NB*. For France the number comes to 910 editions out of a total number of 91,424 as indicated in *FVB* and *FB III & IV*.

that concerning Greek imprints Paris held the reins by far.⁷ The Low Countries present a different case, again comparable with the overall output of the area.⁸ Fig. 13.2 shows the distribution of output of the Greek classics among the three main sixteenth century printing centres, the two university towns of Louvain and Leiden, juxtaposed with Antwerp, the commercial centre of the area until its sack in 1575.

Printers of Greek Classics in the Low Countries

The activity of the printers involved in this business in the Low Countries was primarily concentrated in the hands of three houses; Thierry Martens and Rutgerus Rescius in Louvain from the first half of the century and the *officina Plantiniana* of Christophe Plantin and his heirs, in Antwerp and Leiden (Fig. 13.3).

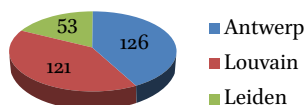


FIGURE 13.2

Printing of the Greek classics in the Low Countries according to place of publication

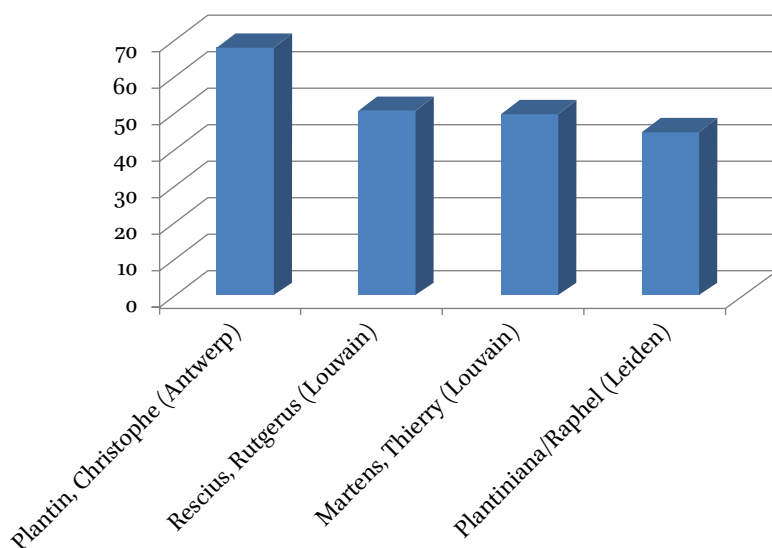


FIGURE 13.3 *Printers with the highest production of Greek classics in the Low Countries*

⁷ For an overview see the introduction in FVB and the introduction in FB III & IV.

⁸ NB, introduction, I, pp. vii–xiv.

These personalities and their workshops also represent the different types of printers who published in Greek. Martens and Rescius fit better the description of specialist academic printers, the latter even more than the former. Both had a specific relationship with an educational institute, the *Collegium Trilingue* in Louvain. Plantin, however, entered the market from a different position, and it was only after Raphelengius succeeded him in Leiden that the workshop was attached to the university there and its publications became primarily academic.

Martens was the first printer of Greek in the Low Countries, producing in 1513 Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. He had been one of the first printers in the area having started his activity in 1473 in Alost.⁹ He printed mostly in Latin, classical texts (Roman, Greek and medieval), while he was also Erasmus's printer in the Netherlands. About one sixth of his total output can be identified as Greek classics (52 out of 336 editions). Martens had been closely linked to the *Collegium* from its foundation and provided texts and manuals required for teaching.¹⁰ Most of his Greek editions were textbooks, in the manner that Manutius popularised: plain books that only contain the Greek text with no or very little paratext.

Martens's Greek activity can be divided in two periods; first, from 1513, when he brought out the first Greek books, and 1518. During this period Martens was responsible for about 11 editions in Greek, at least 8 of which were grammars and books for the instruction of the language.¹¹ During this first period his Greek production amounted roughly to one eighth of his total output. The second period, however, from 1518 to 1529 marked a significant shift of emphasis as out of a total of 127 editions, a third of them (41) were in Greek. This was a printer therefore who started off printing some Greek works but who in the last part of his career relied heavily on his Greek texts for business. This shift is explained by the appointment of Rutgerus Rescius, Martens's corrector in

9 See his biography, A.F. Van Iseghem, *Biographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost, premier imprimeur de la Belgique* (Malines, P.J. Hanicq & Alost, Spitaels-Shuermans, 1852); Andrew Pettegree, *The book in the Renaissance* (New Haven/London, Yale, 2010), pp. 48, 83.

10 Iseghem, *Biographie de Thierry Martens*, p. 104; H. de Vocht, *History of the foundation and the rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550* (4 vols., Humanistica Lovaniensia, X–XIII; Louvain, Ch. Uystpruys, 1951–55), vol. II, pp. 8–9.

11 Cf. Th. Gaza, *Primus liber grammaticae institutionis* (Louvain, 1516), USTC 403371; idem, *Introductivae grammatices libri quatuor* (Louvain, 1516), USTC 410109; C. Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis liber primus. De constructione liber secundus* (Louvain, 1516), USTC 403097; G. Aleandro, *Tabulae quae utiles Graecarum musarum adyta compendio ingredi cupientibus* (Louvain, 1518), USTC 403721; *Alphabetum Graecum* (Louvain, 1518), USTC 436983 et al.

Greek to the professorship of Greek at the *Collegium Trilingue* in 1518.¹² This appointment reinforced the collaboration between Martens and the college and Martens's workshop was printing 'on demand' texts that Rescius was lecturing on, thus becoming a 'university printer' specialising in the printing of Greek textbooks.¹³

Rescius himself, an interesting character indeed, also became a printer after 1529.¹⁴ He had learned Greek in Paris from Girolamo Aleandro, one of the first teachers of Greek there (c. 1508).¹⁵ His appointment at the *Collegium* was not entirely unrelated to Erasmus, who also supported his role there even though ultimately he may have preferred a scholar of more established reputation.¹⁶ Rescius continued to act as editor/corrector for Martens even after his appointment at the college, as a way of enhancing his income. The opportunity to start publishing and continue the Greek part of the business came after Martens's retirement in 1529 when he joined in partnership with the younger Johannes Sturm, his friend and student. Though his predecessor had been succeeded by Servatius Zassenus, the latter did not have any knowledge in Greek, thus leaving the field open for Rescius, who used a great deal of his master's materials.¹⁷

Rescius's situation was a delicate one as he had to convince the college administration that his printing activity was not damaging to his performance as a scholar. This explains the epistle to the reader cited at the beginning of this essay where he tried to justify his venture by stressing the absence of books available from which to teach. Rescius published about 87 Greek editions, of which 53 were Greek classics, while the rest were either Bible parts or early Church Fathers. His Greek issues thus amounted to a substantial c. 53.3% of his total output, with his Greek classics making up 31% of this. Although Rescius followed his programmatic statement for the first few years, printing almost exclusively in Greek and producing between nine and 12 editions annually for the first three years, this number fell after 1532. Between 1532 and 1537 he was printing about six to nine Greek classical editions a year and this dropped significantly down to between zero and four editions a year from 1538 to 1544.

12 Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. I, pp. 277–278.

13 Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. II, pp. 9–11, 116–118.

14 See P.G. Bietenholz, T.B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (3 vols., Toronto/Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1985), vol. III, pp. 142–144.

15 *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, vol. III, p. 142.

16 Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. I, pp. 277–283; vol. II, pp. 99–101, 316–323, 331–333; vol. III, p. 129.

17 Iseghem, *Biographie de Thierry Martens*, pp. 106–108; Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. II, pp. 621–624.

Despite his initial intentions he quickly came to realise that being a specialised printer was not financially viable, undertaking to also issue Latin texts, some of which were tracts by his fellow professors such as Peter Nannius.¹⁸ This shift also brought further complications with his superiors at the college, as his earlier argument about the compatibility between his two diverging activities became a little harder to sustain.¹⁹ Rescius's attempts at improving sales and the relationship between his printing and teaching also provoked the ire of the Law Faculty. In 1536, having printed Theophilus Antecessor's Greek paraphrase of the *Institutiones Juris Civilis*, he announced that he was going to lecture on the work as a way to market it, which caused an outcry of his Law colleagues.²⁰

Rescius collaborated with Strum until the 1530s, and he later also worked in partnership with Bartholomaeus Gravius who handled the bookselling part of the business.²¹ All things considered, Rescius was by no means a successful printer despite all his efforts, his specialisation and his attempts at marketing. He expressed this disappointment and his envy of more prosperous printers, like Josse Badius in Paris in his correspondence to his friend Nicolas Clenardus.²² As he could not have focused entirely on the printing – let alone his printing of classical Greek – he was destined not to enjoy financial success.

The example of Rescius – and to some extent of Martens – varies considerably from the case of the workshop of Christophe Plantin, a commercially successful printer who from a strong market position began to include Greek titles in his range of editions. Plantin's first Greek venture was a bilingual edition of Aesopus's *Fables* in 1558.²³ The workshop's overall Greek production represents about 3.7% of the total title output with Greek classical titles amounting to about 2.5% of it. This figure was not stable throughout the years of the printing house's operation, neither in numbers or in kind. The press produced up to 11 Greek titles annually, about half of which were Greek classics. Business in

18 Cf. Petrus Nannius, *Declamatio, de bello Turcis inferendo* (Louvain, Rutgerus Rescius, 1536), USTC 403417; *Gratulatio de adventu imperatoris Caroli ejus nominis quinti* (Louvain, Rutgerus Rescius, 1540), USTC 410396, et al.

19 Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. III, pp. 108–118.

20 *Ἰνστιτουτιῶνες Θεόφιλου Ἀντικήγνωρος. Institutiones iuris civilis in graecam linguam per Theophilum Anticensorem traductae* (Louvain, Rutgerus Rescius, 1536), USTC 404825; Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. III, pp. 125–130.

21 As was clear from the title-pages: "Venundantur Lovanii a Bartholomeo Gravio, sub sole aureo"; cf. USTC 410270 (13.6); LUL 20643 D35. Iseghem, *Biographie de Thierry Martens*, p. 140.

22 Cited in Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. III, p. 585.

23 Aesopus, *Fabulae, Graecae & Latinae* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1558), USTC 409046.

that field, however, never exceeded 7% of the yearly production of titles for the Antwerp workshop.

The production of Greek classics of the *Officina Plantiniana* can also be divided into three periods. Plantin's first period as a printer (1555–1562), included very little Greek apart from the edition of Aesopus. The second period coincides with the 'peak years' of the workshop (1562–1581), when Plantin purchased more Greek type and produced more texts in that script.²⁴ Plantin's appointment as the official printer of the University of Leiden (1583/4) marked the beginning of the last phase. A significant change took place during this phase, as from 1586 his son-in-law and lead Greek corrector Franciscus Raphelengius took over the Leiden *officina* and printed works requested by the university until his death, in 1598. Thus of the three periods we could say that the one where the *officina* specialised in Greek classical printing is only the last one. This difference is manifest when one considers that the whole of Greek printing that Plantin and his heirs undertook in Antwerp represented about 1% of all the books published in the workshop, whereas the Greek printing of the Leiden branch of Franciscus Raphelengius and his sons corresponded to 9.4% of their total business (of which 7.1% were the classical editions).

Plantin undertook to print more Greek from 1562 as the appearance of his *Alphabetum Graecum* indicated. This was during the period of Plantin's expansion; the workshop had seven presses in operation by 1567, having entered into collaboration with four financial backers in 1563. Part of that business agreement entailed that the workshop would print "des livres latins, grecs, hébreux, françois, italiens..."²⁵ Even though the partnership broke down in 1567, Plantin continued to print in Greek – this was the period, after all, in which Plantin's ambitious Polyglot Bible appeared (1568–72).²⁶ The growth of the business was also obvious in Plantin's expansion into France, opening a bookshop in Paris in 1566.²⁷ Plantin produced 62 Greek titles during the period of 1562–1581, an average of 4–6% of his total output for those years. From these less than a third were Greek classical titles and it was only after 1577–78 that his production of classical texts represented almost 100% of his total Greek production. This could be linked to the turmoil in the Low Countries where printing texts relating to the pre-Christian, non-confessional past was less controversial and

24 Leon Voet, *The golden compasses. The history of the house of Plantin-Moretus* (2 vols., Amsterdam, Vangendt & Co; London, Routledge & Kegan Paul; New York, Abner Schram, 1969–1972), vol. II, pp. 72, 74–75, 90, 114–117.

25 Voet, *Golden compasses*, vol. I, p. 45.

26 Voet, *Golden compasses*, vol. I, pp. 60–64.

27 Voet, *Golden compasses*, vol. I, p. 50.

dangerous. This distress was perhaps also reflected in the only Greek edition of 1578, Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, a manual of Stoic philosophy that could offer consolation to his contemporaries in times of war and affliction.²⁸

The troubled situation in the Low Countries also affected the course and production of the workshop in more serious terms. Between 1583–85, when Antwerp's fate was entirely uncertain, Plantin himself had moved to Leiden to set up his *officina* there and to negotiate with the university for the position of the official printer. Though appointed in this position in 1583/4, he may have known from 1582; this is certainly reflected in that year's Greek production, which reached nine titles, eight of which were Greek classics.²⁹ Plantin left Leiden in 1585, but sent his son-in-law Raphelengius to take over the next year. He succeeded Plantin in the position of university printer in 1586 with salary of 200 fl. a year, while he was also appointed as professor of Hebrew in 1587.³⁰

The university link is apparent in the workshop's activity, which shifted from the earlier religious texts to printing more textbooks designed to serve the teaching needs of the newly-established institution.³¹ The association with the university is also apparent in the production of ambitious scholarly editions produced by the local professors such as Joseph-Justus Scaliger and Bonaventura Vulcanius.³² The workshop also produced highly specialised laudatory poetry in Greek in this context, mostly small pamphlets or broadsheets in honour of fellow university students or professors,

28 Epictetus, *Enchiridion, hoc est, pugio. Sive, ars humanae vitae correctrix. Graece & Latine* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1578), USTC 406407.

29 The university printer Willem Silvius had died in 1580 and his son and successor Karel had been dismissed in 1582, paving the way for Plantin's succession; Voet, *Golden compasses*, vol. I, pp. 105–109.

30 Voet, *Golden compasses*, vol. I, pp. 113–116, 151.

31 See for example the series of editions of Homer's *Iliad* in chapters that came out in 40 between 1582 and 1589. Printing had started in Antwerp and was continued by Raphelengius in Leiden: Homer, *Ιλιάς* (Antwerp and Leiden, ex officina Christophe Plantin/apud Franciscus Raphelengius, 1582–89); USTC 413755, USTC 413860, USTC 414558, USTC 414559, USTC 415512, USTC 429095, USTC 429277, USTC 429278, USTC 429971, USTC 429972, USTC 429973; Museum Plantin Moretus A 1524 (1–11).

32 Cf. the edition of Callimachus in 160 by Bonaventura Vulcanius: *Hymni, epigrammata et fragmenta, quae exstant. Et separatim, Moschi Syracussii, et Bionis Smyraei idyllia. Bonaventura Vulcanio Brugensi interprete. Cum annotationibus eiusdem et indice copioso* (Leiden, ex officina Christophe Plantin, 1584), USTC 422258, LUL 551 G1. Further examples of other contemporary professors at the university include works by Justus Lipsius, Janus Dousa etc.

typical of university printers.³³ Raphelengius's departure from Antwerp also meant that most of the Greek production moved north, as he was the most scholarly of Plantin's sons in law and had been the lead proof-reader for Greek. When he left in 1586 he took most of the Greek types with him; thus to the approximately 40 Greek titles produced in Leiden between 1585–1600 (about 8.5% of the total production of the northern branch for this period), the Antwerp branch under the direction of Balthasar Moretus could only show ten titles (about 1% of its total production for the period), some of which were the same editions with a different title-page.³⁴

Three kinds of printers and their activity represent three different levels of specialisation. The case of Rescius, the most specialised of all three, could serve as evidence that the decision to focus on one genre/language was not financially viable. Martens's case is an example of leaning towards more specialisation at the end of a printer's career, as a convenient partnership with his corrector – now a professor – provided him with steady work towards the end of it. Finally, Plantin's inclusion of Greek classics came more from a tendency to diversify and be an all-inclusive scholarly printer. Towards the end of the century though, the closer collaboration between his heirs and the university at Leiden brought a more focused specialisation. The examination of their work also points to some of the main features of this business in the sixteenth century such as the small but highly specialised market and audience and the need for proficient editors, some of which either came from or consequently acquired, a university position. The significance of a printer's links with higher education is also hard to dispute; these either led to their assignment to print in Greek for the demands of an institution or followed their prominence in the market. Finally, the expensive nature of the type also rendered it crucial in the business and to those who would continue in that field, as both in the case of Martens and Plantin the type was inherited by their respective successors, Rescius and Raphelengius. Some of these elements were necessary and in place in the case of France as well, while

33 Cf. Willem Codde, *Αξιωμακτονίου κατορθώματος βραβείον τω τούτω αξιωθέντι Ιακώβω Κλημενκέλλω* (Leiden, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1595) USTC 423513, LUL 188 B3; Willem Codde, *Μέλος προπεμπτήριον Λεονάρδω τω Ιωάννου* ([Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius], 1592) USTC 427763, LUL ASF 347 (p. 86); Janus Dousa, *Εκλογή συλλαβούσα εγκώμιον του Ναθαναήλος Μαυλάδου γνωσιμαχούντος περί μονής Χριστού θυσίας και μίσσης Ρωμαϊκής* (Leiden, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1593) USTC 427780, LUL ASF 352 (66); all broadsheets.

34 Cf. Aristoteles, *Περὶ κόσμου. Liber de mundo* (Antwerpen = Leiden, ex officina Christophe Plantin, 1587), USTC 413809 and Aristoteles, *Περὶ κόσμου. Liber de mundo*, ed. Bon. Vulcanius (Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana apud Franciscus I Raphelengius, 1587), USTC 422480, LUL 756 E7 (2).

some were not. Nonetheless, as we shall see, France was a much bigger market, which allowed for a combination of commercial and academic printers to get involved in the printing of the Greek classics.

Printers of the Greek Classics in France

An overview of Greek classical printing in France in the same period reveals some of the differences of the French case and the overwhelming dominance of the Parisian printers over the periphery and even over Lyon (Fig. 13.1). The development of Greek printing and its spread is more clearly illustrated in the example of the Paris printers. As already indicated, the market in France and the French capital was significantly more divided, pointing to a wider distribution of the market for this genre. Throughout the century we see the concurrent prominence of more than one printer/publisher (Fig. 13.4). It is also clear that the printing of classical works in France saw a gradual and continuous increase from its beginning in Paris in 1507. A view of the Parisian production indicates a small peak around 1528–32, but the greatest peak came in the years 1536–44. From 1560 onwards the printing decreased significantly: it became irregular and erratic during the period of 1560–1580, due to the volatile situation of the religious wars, while it suffered its greatest decline after 1589, from which it never really recovered until the end of the century (Fig. 13.5).

The first one to lead the way in Greek printing in Paris was Gilles de Gourmont. The drive here was also the need for books to enable the instruction of the

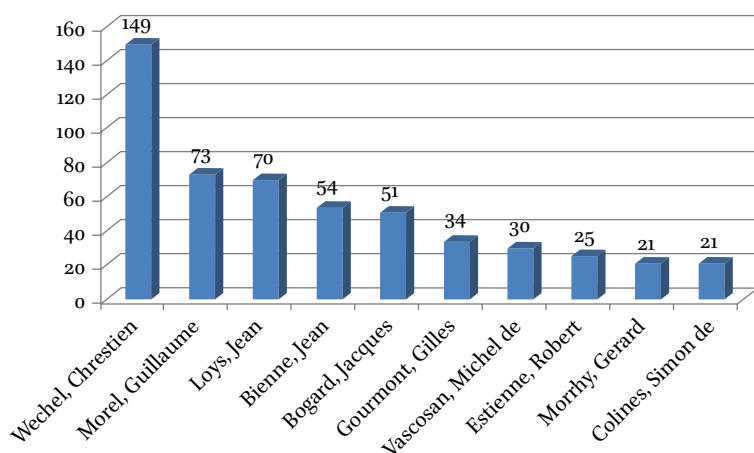


FIGURE 13.4 *Printers with the highest production of Greek classics in France*

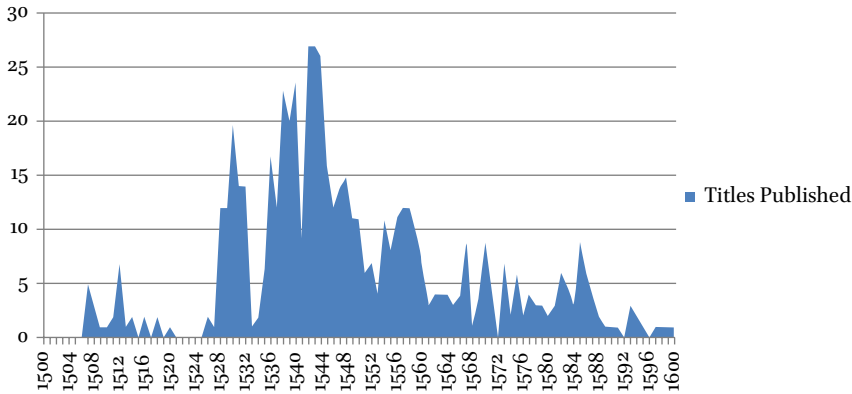


FIGURE 13.5 *Production of the Greek classical titles in France throughout the sixteenth century*

language together with the influence of a scholar. Gourmont was encouraged to print in Greek by François Tissard, one of the first teachers of the language in Paris.³⁵ Tissard was behind the first edition of *Alphabetum Graecum* issued with newly cut types in 1507.³⁶ Though occurring slightly earlier than in the Low Countries, the printing of Greek in France was slower to advance. Tissard urged in his preface to the *Alphabetum Graecum*, “all those who are most well-disposed, studious and desirous of learning Greek” to study the language and rid France of its reputation among Italian intellectuals as a barbarian nation.³⁷ Girolamo Aleandro, one of the first Greek teachers in Paris, who also worked with Gourmont as an editor, too lamented the shortage and the cost of Greek books.³⁸

France lacked the firm link that had provided the initial impetus for the business in the Netherlands: until the establishment of the *Collège Royal* the

35 William Parr Greswell, *A view of the early Parisian Greek press* (2 vols., Oxford, S. Collingwood for A. Tolboys, 1833), pp. 16–17 and Gerald Sandy, ‘Resources for the study of Greek in France’, in idem (ed.), *The classical heritage in France* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, Brill, 2002), pp. 47–78.

36 François Tissard (ed.), *Alphabetum Graecum* (Paris, apud Gilles de Gourmont, 1507), USTC 143211.

37 Cited in Sandy, ‘The study of Greek in France’, p. 52.

38 Sandy, ‘The study of Greek in France’, pp. 52–55, 57; see also Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe*, p. 10. Aleandro edited some early Greek texts in Paris himself: Plutarch, *Ta τη βίβλω περιειλημμένα. Περί ἀρετῆς καὶ καχίας. De virtute et vitio, eiusdem de fortuna* ([Paris], apud Gilles de Gourmont, 1509), USTC 143532; Lucianus, *Εὐύπνιον ἤτοι βίος* (Paris, [Gilles de Gourmont, 1510]), USTC 183033; Manuel Chrysoloras, *Ερωτήματα Γραμματικά. Erotemata*. ed. Girolamo Aleandro and François Vatable (Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, 1512), USTC 143950; *Lexicon Graecolatium* ([Paris, Gilles de Gourmont] apud Mathieu Bolsec, 1512), USTC 143982.

teaching of Greek was not formally instituted. It was only by the urging of prominent personalities such as Aleandro and Guillaume Budé – and even behind the scenes, Erasmus – that the establishment of the *Collège Royal* materialised by 1530.³⁹ Thus Gourmont who signed his books as “primus graecarum litterarum Parrhisiis impressor” was the only printer of Greek of any significance in Paris for about a decade, either by himself or in collaboration with others, such as Pierre Vidoué.⁴⁰ Gourmont led the market until the late 1520s when others such as Michel de Vascosan, Josse Badius, Chrestien Wechel and Simon de Colines appeared, some of them printers with stronger claims in the specific market.⁴¹

The peak production of the 1530s and 1540s is connected to two factors. These are first, the founding of the college by Francis I (1530), after the example of the *Collegium Trilingue*, and second, the establishment of the official role of *Imprimeur royal pour grec* (*Regius in Graecis Typographus*) in 1538. The former institutionalised the demand for Greek classical works and the latter introduced royal support for a strong player in the production of, and market for, Greek editions. We can conceivably associate the work of Gerrard Morrhy with the former, following the first appointment of royal *lecteurs de grec*. Morrhy had a very short printing career in Paris, publishing only between 1530 and 1532. Yet in the first year of his activity he issued 18 Greek classical titles (out of 38 titles in total, a record 47.3% of his annual production). His works gave the indication “apud College Sorbonnae” and were mostly texts by Lucian.⁴²

Regarding the introduction of the royal printer, Conrad Néobar, Robert Estienne the first, Adrien Turnèbe and Guillaume Morel all successively

39 Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue*, vol. II, pp. 360–363.

40 Cf. Aristophanes, *Κωμωδίαι εννέα. Comoediae novem* (Paris, apud Pierre Vidoué, Gilles de Gourmont, 1528), USTC 145892 [40].

41 Some of the earliest examples include: Alcinous Platonius, *Εἰς τα του Πλάτωνος δόγματα εισαγωγή. Ad Platonis dogmata introductio* (Paris, apud Michel de Vascosan, 1532), USTC 181352 [80]; Isocrates, *Ἀρεοπαγήτικος. Areopageticus* (Paris, vend. Josse Badius, 1529), USTC 184879 [40]; Isocrates, *Ἑλένης εγκώμιον. Helenae encomium* (Paris, Josse Badius, 1529), USTC 184881 [40]; Sophocles, *Τραγωδίαι ἑπτὰ. Tragoediae septem* (Paris, Simon de Colines, 1528), USTC 145998 [80]; Th. Gaza, *Graeca traductio in Ciceronis de senectute dialogum* (Paris, apud Simon de Colines, 1528), USTC 184750 [80]; Th. Gaza, *Institutionis grammaticae libri quatuor, addita versione latina* (Paris, vaenit apud Chrétien Wechel) USTC 146058, LUL 396 F2 [80]; *Alphabetum Graecum* (Paris, Chrétien Wechel, 1529), USTC 184825 [80]; Plutarchus, *Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγή. De liberorum institutione* ([Paris], excudebat Chrétien Wechel, 1529), USTC 181171, Bodl. Byw. 1.8 (4) [80].

42 Didymus Chalcenterus, *Εἰς τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν ἐξηγήσεις. Interpretatio in Odisseam* (Paris, [Gérard Morrhy], apud Collegium Sorbonnae, 1530), USTC 181212, BL G.16949 [80].

received this title. The royal printer for Greek was able to use the special types that had been commissioned by Francis I and were cut by Claude Garamond in 1543.⁴³ The title also carried with it the privilege to make use of the manuscripts in Francis I's royal collection and publish them with the heading "ex bibliotheca regia" and normally also with the indication "typis regis". This provided the printers with a unique advantage and a great marketing tool, as seen in the case of Robert Estienne's 1546 quarto edition of Aesop's *Fables*, where he proudly announced on the title-page that the text had been checked and improved upon by comparing the conventional and established text with a manuscript of the royal library.⁴⁴ We could also assume that they enjoyed exemptions from certain taxes as well as monopoly on the titles they issued.⁴⁵ Additionally, they used a common device first probably used by Estienne, featuring an upright spear around which was curled a serpent and a laurel plant. The inscription on the device was a phrase from Homer's *Iliad*: "Βασιλεῖ τ' ἀγαθῷ κρατερῷ τ' αἰχμητῇ".⁴⁶

The title was conferred upon a printer either in "recognition of someone's established reputation" or as a way of ensuring the "provision of adequate supplies of books in specialist subjects".⁴⁷ The honour associated with it and the criteria taken into consideration do not seem to have remained the same: Conrad Néobar, the first to bear the title, does not appear to even have been a printer at the time of his appointment, though he had acted as a proof-reader for Chrestien Wechel and was related by marriage to Jacques Toussain, the royal professor of Greek.⁴⁸ Néobar must have acquired the title through the patronage of George de Selve, ambassador to Francis I and an enthusiastic collector of Greek manuscripts.⁴⁹ He only held the title for a year, dying prematurely in 1540. Estienne, meanwhile, probably received the types and the title in recognition of his scholarship even if he had not specifically focused on

43 Henrdik D.L. Vervliet, 'Greek printing types of the French Renaissance. The "Greco du Roy" and their successors', in idem (ed.) *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance* (2 vols., Boston/Leiden, Brill, 2008), vol. II, pp. 383–425.

44 Aesopus, *Βίος καὶ Μύθοι. Vita et fabulae, plures et emendatiores, ex vetustissimo codice bibliothecae regiae* (Paris, ex officina Robert Estienne, "Typographi Regii", 1546), USTC 153898, LUL 510 E5 (2) [4v0].

45 Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, royal printer* (Cambridge, CUP, 1954), p. 122.

46 Translated as "in honour of/belonging to a virtuous and powerful king, who is also a good darter"; (Homer, *Iliad*, III, 179). M.L.-C. Sylvestre, *Marques Typographiques* (Paris/Brussels, Culture et Civilisation, 1966), reprint of 2nd edition: vol. I, pp. 146–147 (devices 470–472).

47 Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, pp. 118, 139.

48 Vervliet, 'Greek printing types', p. 384.

49 Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, p. 118.

Greek works until then (he had already been appointed royal printer in Hebrew and in Latin, in 1539).⁵⁰ That the Crown turned to Adrien Turnèbe, the royal professor of Greek after Toussain to succeed him following his departure for Geneva (1550), is for some evidence of the “measure of the status the appointment had acquired during Estienne’s tenure of office”.⁵¹ The indisputable leader among these early royal printers of Greek, nonetheless, was Guillaume Morel, who had initially been entrusted with the printing of some of the works that came out under Turnèbe’s name. Morel was a person of great erudition who had started his career as corrector in Jean Loys’s workshop; his appointment, however, in the role of the royal printer came after the recommendation of Turnèbe himself, whom he succeeded.⁵²

What is clear from this list of names is that the Crown chose to confer the royal title upon acclaimed scholars as well as established professionals. It should be apparent that the royal printers of Greek had an obvious advantage and a directive to specialise in their subject. A statistical analysis of their combined output shows that between 1539–1564 (Néobar’s appointment – Morel’s death) their Greek printing represented a collective 18.5% (with Greek classics 12.1%) of their total issues during the period when they held the royal title. Yet not all of them specialised equally; their production ranged according to their respective personalities, circumstances and positions in the market. Néobar was only able to print for a year, during which his Greek production represented 25% of his total output.⁵³ Estienne though productive, also had a personal preference for printing religious texts in Greek, in particular the Bible and its parts, or post-classical texts, meaning that his production of ancient Greek texts (rather than Byzantine or religious) could have been more noteworthy.⁵⁴ His Greek classical production represented an approximate 10% of his output. Turnèbe, however, did indeed advance the issuing of Greek

50 Armstrong links his appointment to suggestions by Guillaume Budé; *Robert Estienne*, pp. 149–150.

51 Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, p. 138. On Turnèbe see John Lewis, *Adrien Turnèbe (1512–1565). A humanist observed* (Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1998).

52 Greswell, *Early Parisian Greek press*, vol. II, pp. 27–28; Lewis, *Adrien Turnèbe*, p. 108.

53 Cf. his Adamantius Sophista, *Physiognomonica. Cum privilegio Regis in quinquennium* (Paris, [Conrad Néobar] “per Regium in Graecis typographum”, 1540), USTC 147718 BL 671.a.3 (1) [8vo].

54 His personal preferences would have had a role in what he printed, even if according to Armstrong “it is impossible” to regard the series of Estienne’s publications after 1539 as “determined by him in the same way as the series of his biblical editions and dictionaries” (Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, p. 101). See however, some beautiful examples of what he produced as a royal printer for Greek: Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Ρωμαϊκῆς Αρχαιολογίας Βιβλία Δέκα. Antiquitatum*

classical texts overseeing the printing of 18 them out of the total 21 Greek works that he produced as royal printer. A high proportion (60%) of the titles appearing in Turnèbe's name were Greek (and most of the respective Latin were in fact the same texts in translation).⁵⁵ Finally, Morel's Greek output during the years of his *royal imprimerie* was 20%. It thus seems that the most focus that commercial printers could place on their mandate never exceeded a fifth of their work, even when appointed royal printers. The ones who really specialised were those who had either no previous experience or were not really printers.

Two further names later on in the century and their production were also associated with the same royal title: that of Jacques Bogard and Jean Bienné. The former was related to Néobar so even though he did not succeed him in the position of royal printer, he continued his work, also using his device. Similarly, Jean Bienné continued Morel's work, as with the latter's death he married Morel's widow and used some of his material. Both Bogard and Bienné dominated the market almost exclusively during the peak years of their production (1542–67 and 1567–79 respectively).

The same analysis, however, indicates that the royal printers of Greek did not have a monopoly on Greek printing (either general or classical), as analysis of the production shows that there was room in the market for more than one printer, even if the latter did not enjoy the royal privileges. Thus from the 1530s until the mid-1540s, that is roughly during the period that the *imprimeur royal* title was held by Robert Estienne (1543–50) and whilst Michel de Vascosan was active (in the 1530s and 1550s) the market for Greek classical books was also shared by Chretien Wechel, Jean Loys and Jacques Bogard, Néobar's heir. Of the three, Chretien Wechel was responsible for issuing the overwhelming majority of Greek classical titles in France in the sixteenth century. Wechel's output was mostly plain textbooks, typically without any introductory material, comments or translations, at an average of about six titles annually (1528–53), with some years reaching the considerable number of eight to ten titles and even a significant 17 titles for 1538. These books represent 22.2% of his overall production. Wechel faced strong competition by Jean Loys, a printer who became related to Josse Badius by marriage and who printed 81 Greek titles between 1534 and 1546

Romanorum libri X. Ex bibliotheca Regia. Ex privilegio Regis (Paris, ex officina Robert Estienne, "Typographi Regii, typis Regis", 1546 = 1547), USTC 160160 LUL Sem.Rem. 607 [20].

55 Cf. Theophrastus, *Περὶ Πυρός. De Igne* (Paris, apud Adrien de Turnèbe "typographum regium", 1552); USTC 151066, LUL 758 C1 (1) and Theophrastus, *De Igne Liber, Adriano Turnebo interprete. Eiusdem in eundem Adnotatiunculae. Ex privilegio Regis* (Paris, apud Adrien de Turnèbe "typographum regium", 1553), LUL 758 C1 (2) [40]. See also the list of works cited by Lewis in *Adrien Turnèbe*, pp. 117–212.

(representing 14.2% of his total production). Of these, only 12 were not Greek classics. Loys published about 6.2 titles a year, with his peak years (1540 and 1542) reaching 13 and 14 Greek titles respectively. During the period of Estienne's royal *imprimerie*, Jacques Bogard also held a big share of the market. In the nine years of his activity he brought out 57 Greek titles, almost all of them Greek classics, amounting to about 6.5 titles a year on average. His Greek production came to about 30% of all his issues, a considerable proportion indeed, with some years publishing up to 14 titles (1544). Finally, their contemporary, Vascosan, who is represented in small numbers, produced beautiful and very good quality works but quite sporadically (1532–58). At different points his printing activity of Greek classics could range from yearly to once every two years, while between 1537 and 1543 he did not produce any titles. He printed the Greek classics at an average rate of 1.1 books a year over the period of 1532–58 and at any event, never more than six titles a year (1549). Thus during roughly the same period we can see three different types of specialist printing in practice: the editions sanctioned and issued under the royal title; those issued by an academic printer who was likely to be printing according to teaching demands; and Vascosan who brought out small numbers but high quality editions, especially renowned for their correctness and minimal typographical errors.⁵⁶

Similar balance in the market is evident throughout the century under consecutive royal printers. During the decade that the title was held by Guillaume Morel, the market was shared between him, Thomas Richard, Adrien Wechel, son of Chretien and Robert II Estienne. In this case, however, the balance of distribution was in favour of Morel even though the initial fervour of Greek printing had subsided. Thus Morel in his role as the royal printer of Greek would produce 55 Greek titles, 37 of which were Greek classics, an overall percentage of 14% of his total production during his activity. If one adds to that the Greek titles he issued before 1555 – some for Adrien Turnèbe – then we find that Morel produced 70 Greek titles during his career (62 classics), a total of 26.6% of all editions issued by his workshop.⁵⁷

The situation seems to be a bit different after Morel's death and during France's difficult years of religious strife. It is unclear if anyone held the title of *imprimeur royal*, though there is evidence that Henri III had offered Plantin in 1577 the chance to become “royal printer for ten languages”, including

56 Greswell, *Early Parisian Greek press*, vol. I, p. 124.

57 Cf. *Septem Sapientem, Των Επτά Σοφών και των συν αυτοίς καταριθμούμενων αποφθέγματα, συμβουλαί και υποθήκαι. Dicta Septem Sapientum, et eorum qui cum iis numerantur* (Paris, apud Guillaume Morel, “in Graecis typographum Regium”, 1557), USTC 198254, LUL 679 F15 [80].

Greek.⁵⁸ During the period c. 1565–1580, the biggest producer of Greek books in Paris was Jean Bienné, Morel's heir. Interestingly, Bienné used both the royal Greek types for his editions as well as the device of the royal printer on some of his works.⁵⁹ Although in the previous decades the production and the market were shared amongst three or four printers, in the later period the distribution pattern appears more fractured. In the difficult years of c. 1565–1580 Greek books were produced by another dozen printers who only generated from one to approximately four titles each throughout the period.⁶⁰ During these years there also seems to be an infiltration of the Paris market by printers from elsewhere; notably, the production of the printing house of Gryphius from Lyon saw a rise during these years. This is also the period of Plantin's Greek classical production and his presence in the Parisian trade, accentuated by the opening of his branch there. Both of these would corroborate his significance within the French market and the subsequent offer by Henri III. Of them all, Bienné certainly was the one who specialised in Greek printing, as of the total (modest) number of 187 titles, which he brought out during his career (1563–1580/3), 73 were in Greek and they were all printed after 1566, when he had settled himself as successor to Morel. During these years Bienné brought out up to nine Greek classical titles a year (1567, 1570), with an average of about 3.2 titles annually, some of these quite ambitious indeed.⁶¹

The last two decades of the century marked another shift in the manner in which the production of Greek works was spread. Two names are linked to the publication of Greek classics in these two decades with different claims to this specialist market. One was Frédéric II Morel, son of Frédéric Morel, lecturer *du Roi* in Greek at the *Collège Royal* and son in law of Michel de Vascosan. Frédéric II inherited the workshops of both his father and father-in-law as well as the privilege of the royal printer from the latter. Most of his editions bear the device of the royal printer of Greek and the indication of the royal

58 Voet, *Golden compasses*, vol. I, p. 91.

59 Cf. René Guillon, *Συνταγματικόν [=Syntax] Graecorum* (Paris, apud Jean Bienné, 1568), USTC 116598, LUL 700 C21 [40].

60 These were Martin Le Jeune, Antoine Gryphe (from Lyon); Jamet Mettayer, Denis Duval, Sébastien Nivelle, Denis Du Pré, Thomas Brumen, Nicolas Chesneau, Michel Sonnius and Jérôme de Marnef.

61 Demosthenes, *Λόγοι και προοίμια δημηγορικά, και επιστολαί, συν ταις εξηγήσεσιν ωφελιμωτάταις, του Ουλπιανού ρήτορος, τη των παλαιών αντιγράφων βασιλικών επικουρία, αυξηθείσαις και διορθωθείσαις, δια φιλοπονίας, και επιμελείας του Γουλιέλμου Μορελίου, τυπογράφου βασιλικού. Εκ Βιβλιοθήκης βασιλικής [=Works, ...augmented and corrected with the aid of the royal manuscripts with the care and attention of Guillaume Morel, royal typographer. From the Royal Library]* (Paris, Jean Bienné apud Jacques Dupuys, 1570), USTC 116622, LUL Thysia 1543 [20].

privilege.⁶² Morel was indeed a formidable force in French printing during this period, responsible for about 12.65% of the total Parisian output between 1570–90.⁶³ From this very strong positioning in the market he started printing Greek books from 1581 onwards. Frédéric II Morel's Greek titles after 1580 until the end of the century represent 5.7% of his total output of 62 titles (of these, 26 were Greek classics and five were dictionaries). If, however, one excludes the edicts and proclamations from the workshop's production, the percentage of Greek titles comes to 14.8%.

The second contender in these two decades was Etienne Prévosteau. Prévosteau flaunted the insignia “Guilielmi Morelii in græcis typographi regii hæres” on his editions as evidence of their quality and as a strong marketing device.⁶⁴ Prévosteau had married Guillaume Morel's daughter and was his heir, thus continuing the tradition of the workshop. He also reprinted older Morel editions adding his own title-page, as he did in 1582 with Aristotle's *De arte dicendi*.⁶⁵ Prévosteau issued 34 titles in Greek, out of which 24 were Greek classics. This represented about 20% and 14.3% respectively, of his total output of 167 titles produced in his career. Prévosteau printed an average of 1.2 Greek classical titles a year, up to six on a good year (1582).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the above overview of Greek classical printing in Paris and its main protagonists in the sixteenth century. As in the Low Countries, the link between a higher educational institution is also especially apparent here. This provided the impetus whilst by encouraging the learning of Greek in turn, it generated more business. As it has been noted, Greek flourished in Italy without the printing press, while north of the Alps “it was almost entirely dependent upon it”.⁶⁶ A critical factor in France is of course the royal patronage. Even though a similar patronage was enjoyed by Plantin in the Low Countries, this was not specifically associated with Greek printing as

62 Libanius sophista, *Μελέτη περί δύσκολου γήμαντος λάλον γυναίκα. Declamatio lepidissima, de moroso qui cum uxorem loquacem duxisset. Interprete Federico Morello, Professore Regio. Non sine privilegio* (Paris, apud Frédéric II Morel “Architypographum regium”, 1597), USTC 146584, LUL 196 D13.

63 Philip Owen John, ‘Publishing in Paris, 1570–1590. A bibliometric analysis’ (Ph.D., University of St Andrews, 2010), p. 170.

64 Cf. Lucianus Samosatensis, *Διάλογος εντραπελάτατος, Αλκυών ή περί Μεταμορφώσεως* (Paris, Estienne Prévosteau, 1581); colophon: “Parisiis, excudebat Stephanus Prevosteau, Guil. Morelii in græcis typographi regii hæres, in clauso Brunello. 1581”; USTC 160316 [40].

65 Aristoteles, *Ρητορικής τέχνης βιβλία τρία. De arte dicendi libri tres* (Paris, ex typographia Etienne Prvosteau “haeredis Guil. Moreli in græcis typographi regii”, 1582); colophon: “excudebat Guil. Morelius in græcis typographus regius, 1559”; USTC 160501 [40].

66 Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe*, p. xiii.

was the institution *imprimeur du roi pour le grec*. The Paris market, however, was bigger and more diverse, allowing space for more than one printer specialising in this genre to flourish concurrently. The size of the market could also perhaps be observed in the fact that the people involved in the business were not necessarily college lecturers, even though Tissard, Aleandro and Toussain from early on in the century, and later on Turnèbe, Frédéric II Morel and others held academic posts. As in the Low Countries it is also apparent that the main players ranged from specialist printers who took on the printing of Greek almost exclusively, as for instance Adrien de Turnèbe, to commercially successful printers, who also took on the task or privilege of printing in Greek. Even for established printers, however, the venture into Greek had to be cautious: this was hardly a warranty for commercial success, unless the publisher had access to texts previously unpublished, or was knowledgeable enough to produce much improved editions of those already known. Even Robert Estienne with all his erudition, secure family connections and inheritance, would not have ventured into Greek had it not been for his appointment as the royal printer.⁶⁷ A close inspection of the people involved in this activity as well as their production and the proportion this represented in their overall output, is instructive as to the specialisation required for the printing of the Greek classics as well as the market for which they were intended. A small market indeed, made all the more specialist by the requirements and the niche audience to which it was addressed – but all the more prestigious for it.

67 Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, p. 101.

Books in Foreign Languages: Publishing in the Netherlands, 1500–1800

Rémi Mathis and Marie-Alice Mathis¹

Introduction

Any survey of a specialised market requires an in-depth assessment of its specificity: are printers and booksellers in that market distinguishable from others? Does it have specific outlets? Any particularity in the production line, from manufacturing to selling to consumption, can be a matter for analysis. Case studies can be fascinating but they lack this analysis of the relevant market, whose very existence is rarely questioned. What can we say about these specialised markets at the level of a city or a country? Are they really that specific? And above all, how can we build a relevant dataset to identify a market where players adapt the production to meet a particular demand?

In this paper we address these questions in the case of books published in a foreign language in the Netherlands from 1500 to 1800. Can we distinguish one or more specialised markets, and what are their defining characteristics? How do they evolve over three centuries?

The Netherlands has always been a booming market for books, and a significant part of this production was exported. This means being able to speak – or to read, at least – the language of the readers in order to typeset and proofread the books. By looking at the entire production, we set out to understand how – and if – it was influenced by the demand for foreign language books.

Methods

This study is based on a tool familiar to book history scholars: the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN),² which is the Dutch retrospective bibliography for the period 1540–1800. Only such a long-term survey can give insight into the particularities of each century and decade. Focusing on the production by one printer-bookseller, or even a city does not allow a comparison to the global standards of the time. On the contrary, using this fine-grain data

1 Both authors contributed equally to this paper.

2 The authors are indebted to the STCN project, especially to former director Jan Bos, and to Mathieu Knops, Marja Smolenaars and Nynke Leistra.

allows us to put individual cases in context, to compare them against a common reference and to explain them. The great power of the STCN database lies in the huge number of books it contains and the great precision with which they are described: we were able to extract meaningful information from this population data and thus discover what each individual book or subset cannot tell.

The STCN project is set in the tradition of short-title catalogues, whose goal is to be as exhaustive as possible, even resulting in a full-fledged national retrospective bibliography: all the books published in a certain country or in a certain language. Sadly, this is not a French custom, but it is nothing new in Pollard and Redgrave's homeland, especially at the USTC where this extraordinary tool was developed. In the Netherlands, the project for a short-title catalogues goes back to the 70s. In 1979, a scaled down experiment was carried out on the book production in Hoorn, a small city in North Holland, and the full project was green-lit and launched in 1982. A 'masterplan' was established in 2005 to ensure completion by 2009.

In its current version, the STCN contains around 200,000 editions and emissions, each with a precise, book-in-hand description. The catalogue can be queried online, but because the project was not natively digital, each entry is only loosely structured and the first step of our analysis consisted of parsing the text-based data and encoding it as a fully machine readable database. Based on STCN defined fields, each book entry in the database contains a date and place of publication, one or more languages and, in the case of a translation, one or more languages of origin. Next we refined the dataset to suit the scope of the study.

The STCN contains both books published in the Netherlands (regardless of the language) and books in Dutch published abroad (with the exception of Flanders, whose books are listed in the STCV, the Flemish sister-project; however STCV entries are included in the STCN), from the beginnings of the printing press up to 1800.

For our analysis we need only consider books published in the Netherlands between the sixteenth and eighteenth century (1501–1800 inclusive), which left out: around 8,000 books published abroad, around 40,000 books whose publication place is unknown (35,000 of which are in Dutch), mostly early books, approximately 1,500 incunabula and around 10,000 books published between 1501 and 1800 but where only the century of publication is known (no data about the precise decade). This yields a total of approximately 140,000 editions used in the study (amounting to 72% of all STCN entries). Fig. 14.1 shows the distribution of these editions over time (number of books published in each decade).

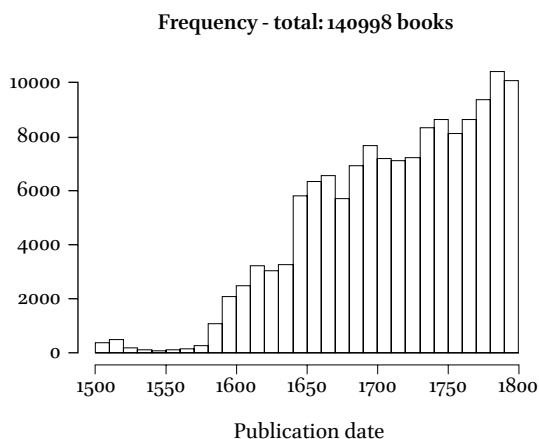


FIGURE 14.1 *Number of books published in the Netherlands between the sixteenth and eighteenth century (per decade)*

No method is unbiased, and in our case the results are only as sound as the database. Of course, although the STCN project is of great quality, it is not perfect. We work with copies still available today in the Netherlands, so there is the issue of the conservation rate for ancient books, and the possibility that for instance, a book in French printed in Amsterdam to be exported to Paris would now only be found in French libraries. Overcoming this problem would require libraries sharing data in an interoperable way and on a large scale: we are far from it today.

We shall remember these limitations when we formulate our conclusions, but keep in mind that we are studying trends encompassing thousands of books: this critical mass is not likely to be affected by a few individual differences in entries. However, this may not hold when we look at smaller subsets so we will check it throughout the analysis.

Languages of Publication in the Netherlands, 1500–1800

What do we mean exactly by ‘foreign languages’? First of all, books written in more than one language represent 3% of our dataset (approximately 3,500 entries; see Fig. 14.2), so rather than creating ambiguities in the data we decided to exclude them and work on the remaining 97%. We focused on books written in a single language, other than Dutch (including ancient languages): this

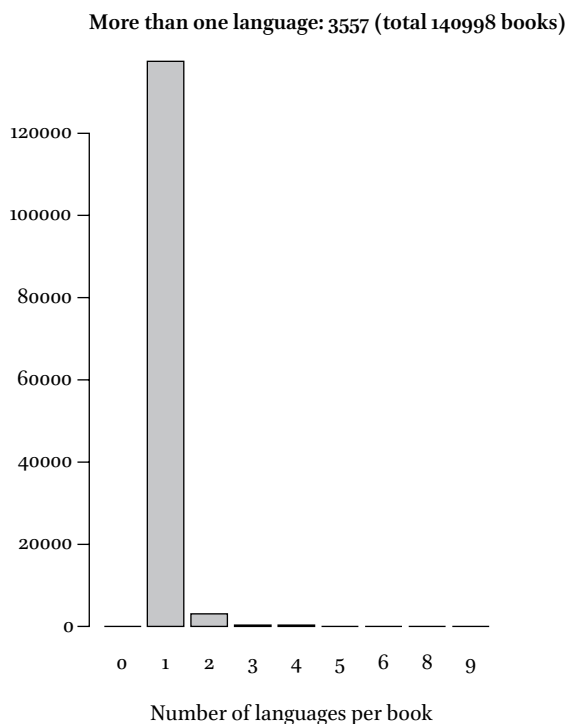


FIGURE 14.2 *Books written in more than one language*

subset is referred to as books in a foreign language or BFL, and contains approximately 60,000 entries (41% of our dataset). We also defined the subset of books translated into Dutch or BTD (regardless of language of origin), containing around 15,000 entries (11% of the complete dataset). The remaining 47% are books natively published in Dutch.

To see how the publication of BFL changes over time, we computed the density shown in Fig. 14.3. The histogram shows which percentage of the total number of BFL was published in each bin of ten years. The red line is the estimated density, i.e. a smooth outline of the histogram, computed with the classical Gaussian kernel estimator and a bandwidth of ten years. Both the sum of the histogram bars and the total area below the red density line are equal to one (100% of the subset), because we are looking at how they are distributed over time and not their raw numbers. The BFL subset only contains books whose publication date is known down to the decade, so for books whose exact year of publication was unknown we attributed a uniformly random year within the

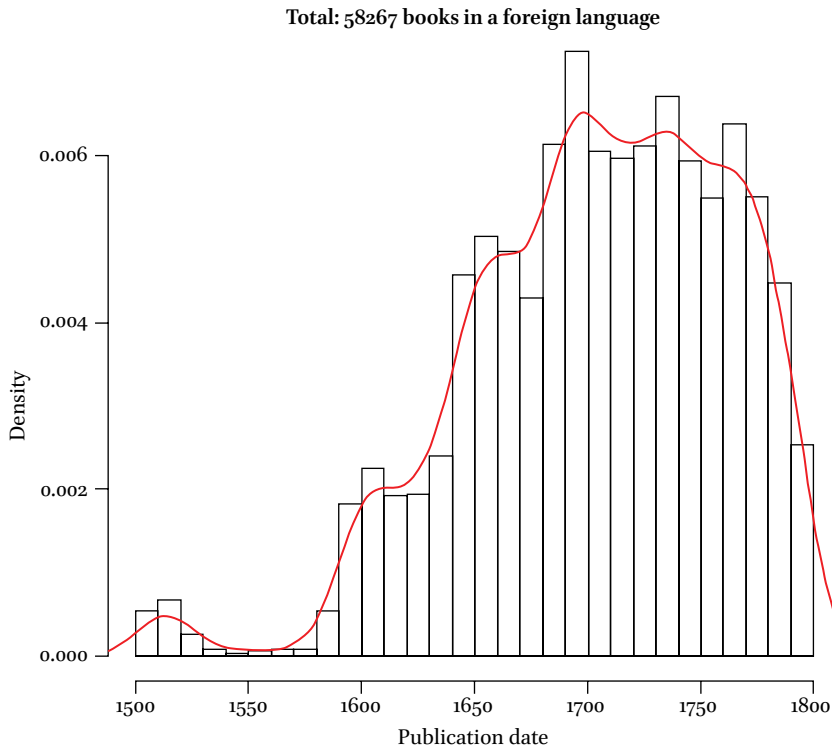


FIGURE 14.3 *Density of publication of books in a foreign language over time*

relevant decade to avoid a peak at any particular year. The distribution over time of these 60,000 editions in a foreign language shows a rapid growth beginning in the late sixteenth century and it reaches a plateau at the end of the seventeenth century, with a slow but steady decrease during the eighteenth century.

We cannot study foreign language books without taking into account the translations. Indeed, changes in the consumption of foreign books (native or translated) could indicate that market players adapted to changing preferences or linguistic abilities. Fig. 14.4 shows the histogram and density of the distribution of BTD (books translated into Dutch). We can see a strong development of translation during the first half of the seventeenth and the second half of the eighteenth century, with a plateau in between. Note however that the estimated density is not reliable near the boundaries of the time period because the estimation takes into account the adjoining periods (before 1500 and after 1800) where the book count in the database is zero. Here we can see that the density of BTD is still on the increase at the end of the eighteenth century despite the blue curve falling back down.

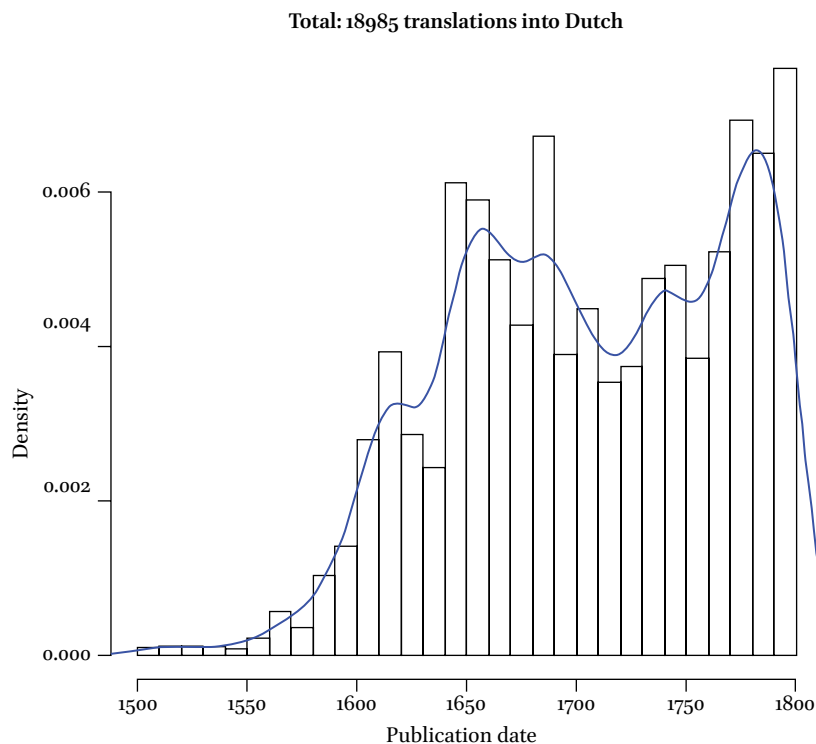


FIGURE 14.4 *Histogram and density of the distribution of books translated into Dutch*

To further assess the evolution of each subset over time we can also look, for each decade, at the proportion of BFL and BTB in relation to the total number of books published. This is shown in Fig. 14.5 with BFL in red and BTB in blue. The open circles and solid lines represent the actual proportion, and the dashed line is a Lowess regression line (a smoothed estimate of the shape of the curve accounting for the observed data points). For BFL (whose average proportion over the entire time period is 41% of all published books), we see again the three stages indicated by the density estimate in Fig. 14.3: a strong decrease during the sixteenth century from 80% down to 30%, followed by a steady increase until 1700 (reaching 45%) and finally a decrease during the eighteenth century. BTB however have an average for the entire period of 11% and stay rather stable. Starting low at around 5%, they increase to reach their maximum of 14% in 1600 before settling around 10% until the end of our time period.

It is however important to realise that proportion data can be noisy when only small numbers of books are involved: this is the case before 1640 (fewer

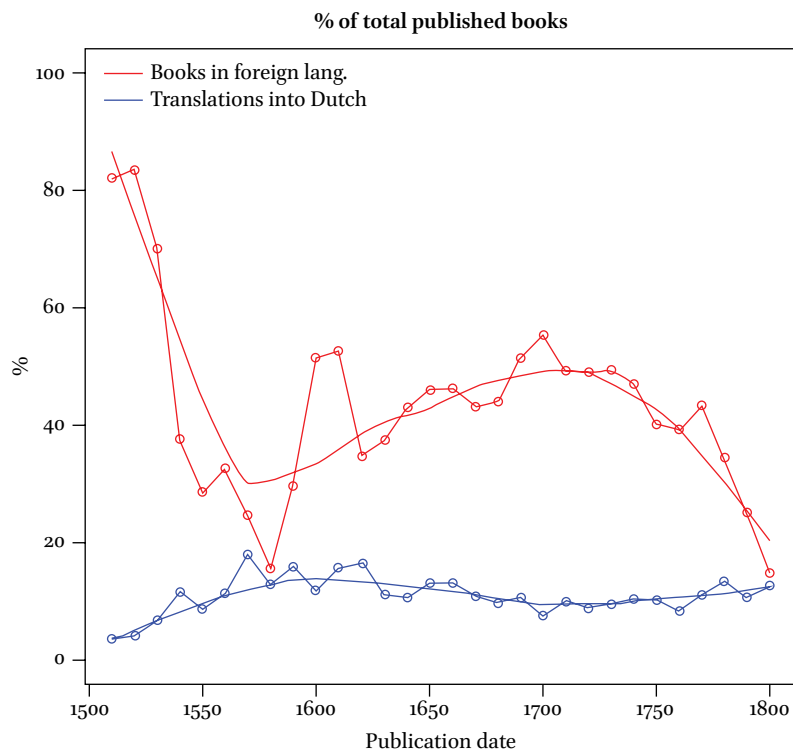


FIGURE 14.5 *Proportion of books in foreign languages and books translated into Dutch in relation to the total number of books published*

than 4,000 editions a year, see Fig. 14.1) and even more so before 1580 (fewer than 500 entries per year). This is reflected particularly in the red curve of BFL before 1650, where the data points are more scattered around the regression line, although we still had enough books for both BFL and BTD to compute the proportions in each bin.

Finally, we can summarise the evolution of publication language by looking at the cumulative density shown in Fig. 14.6. The graph represents the three categories of books: in a foreign language (bottom, in dark grey), natively in Dutch (in the middle, medium grey) or translated in Dutch (top, light grey). At first, a few hundred editions are published every year, and only a minority (20%) are in Dutch (either natively or translated). This changes in 1550 when for the first time more than half of the books published in the Netherlands are in Dutch. The increase is mostly due to native Dutch works, but the proportion of translations slightly increases as well. From 1575 to 1700, the proportions are roughly 40% foreign languages and 60% Dutch (10% translated and 50% native). Finally, after 1700, the proportion of BFL steadily

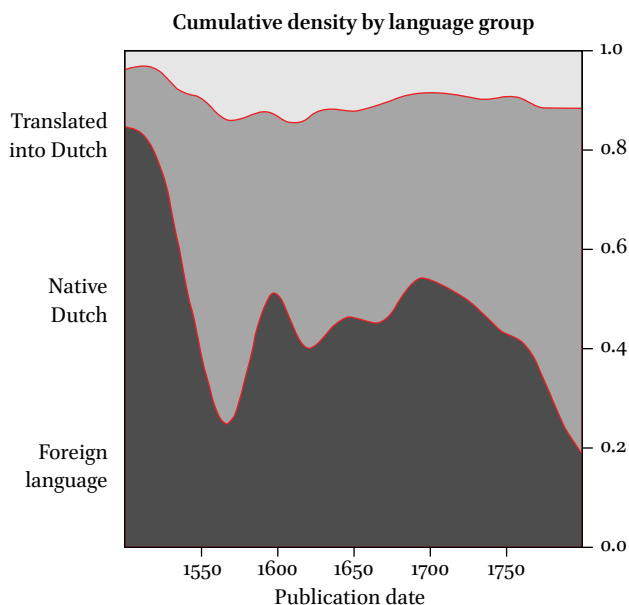


FIGURE 14.6 *Cumulative density of books in a foreign language, books natively in Dutch and those translated into Dutch*

decreases to 20%, replaced by books in native Dutch (translations stay stable around 10%).

Our data thus reveals major changes in the book market in the Netherlands. From a small market strongly dominated by books in foreign languages, the sixteenth century sees the transition to a larger market dominated by books in Dutch. During the seventeenth century, the proportions stay roughly stable with 40% foreign languages and 60% Dutch. Finally, during the eighteenth century the volume of the production continues to increase, and the proportions shift: there is a decline in books in foreign languages which leads, at the turn of the century, to the opposite pattern to the one from 1500: books in foreign languages now represent only 20% of the production. It is important to note that the decline in BFL is not replaced by more translations: rather, the demand is now focused on a local production in vernacular language, and the interest for foreign texts has lessened.

We just drew a general picture of the evolving book market in the Netherlands, but many questions still need to be addressed. In particular, we need to determine which foreign languages are involved: are they vernacular, or scholarly and religious languages like Latin? Then we will see how specific these trends are as regards the place of publication and type of book.

Which Languages Constitute the Specialised Market of Foreign Language Books?

Among the 28 different languages present in the STCN (Fig. 14.7 shows the number of books for the ten major ones), only two of them, Latin and French, make up 96% of the BFL subset (non-Dutch books). We then decided to consider three types of foreign languages: Latin, French and others (one group containing all other editions).

The next step is to plot the cumulative densities of these main languages of the STCN, both foreign and Dutch (Fig. 14.8). Distinguishing between Latin and French sheds light on the three phases we described in the previous section. In the early period, foreign books are dominant, and they are almost exclusively published in Latin, for scholarly and religious uses.

In the second period (during the seventeenth century), most books are now in the vernacular, and the market for books in foreign vernacular languages develops, mostly in French but in other languages as well. We can hypothesise a wider consumer base as well as a greater variety of uses and subject matters. Finally, during the eighteenth century, the use of Latin books declines to approximately 15% while the vernacular languages progress further. French books are booming for the first half of the eighteenth century but finally yield to books in Dutch: in 1800 the proportions stand

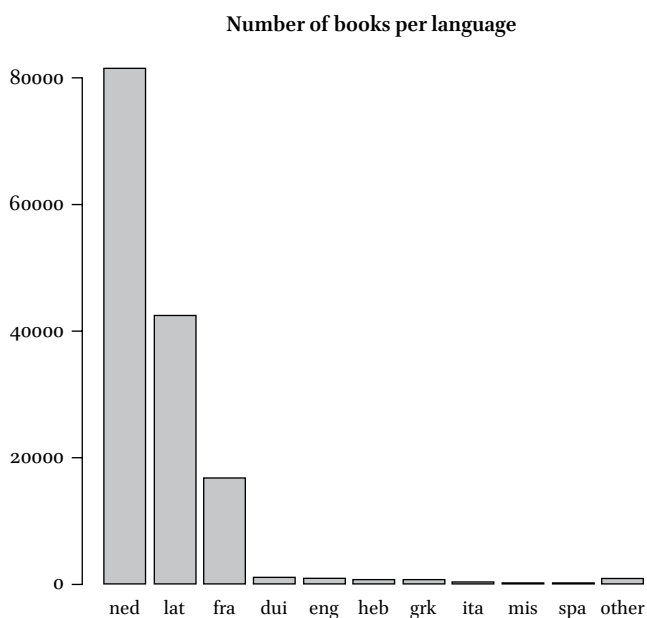


FIGURE 14.7 *Number of books in different languages in the STCN*

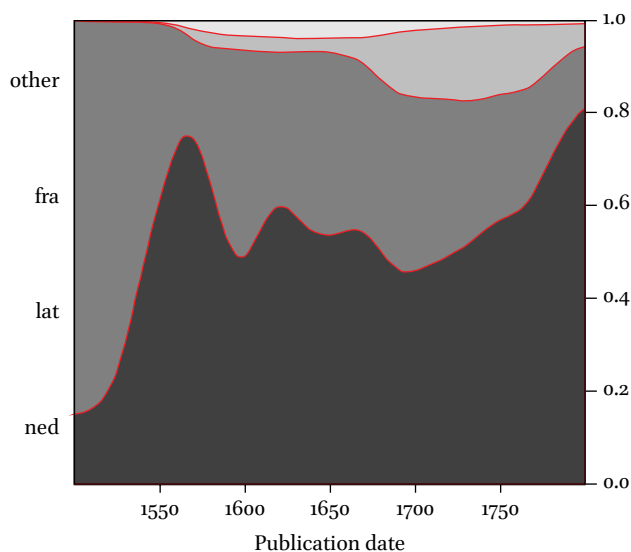


FIGURE 14.8 *Cumulative densities of primary languages of the STCN*

at 80% (Dutch), 16% (Latin) and 8% (French) while the rest account for only 1%.

To summarise, Latin books are still very much in use (probably for the same scholarly and religious uses as during the early period), but the majority of the (much greater) production is now in Dutch, French being essentially the only foreign vernacular language to be printed in books. Still, some French books are translated into Dutch (see the cumulative densities of each language of origin for the subset of books translated into Dutch in Fig. 14.9) but in this subset, three other languages are represented as well (English, German and Latin). Then again, the proportion of Latin decreases while other vernacular languages become dominant (35% of translations are from French in 1800).

Our next step was to investigate whether these transitions (Dutch majority, establishment of French and decline of Latin) are homogeneous across all publishing cities of the Netherlands, or whether some of them carve a niche for themselves in the varied demands of the market.

Specialised Cities?

Most of the books (92%) only list one city in their imprint, so again we will focus on this majority rather than complicate matters with some books being counted in several cities.

We listed a total of 82 different publishing cities in the STCN, and unlike the repartition of languages, the number of books per city decreases smoothly

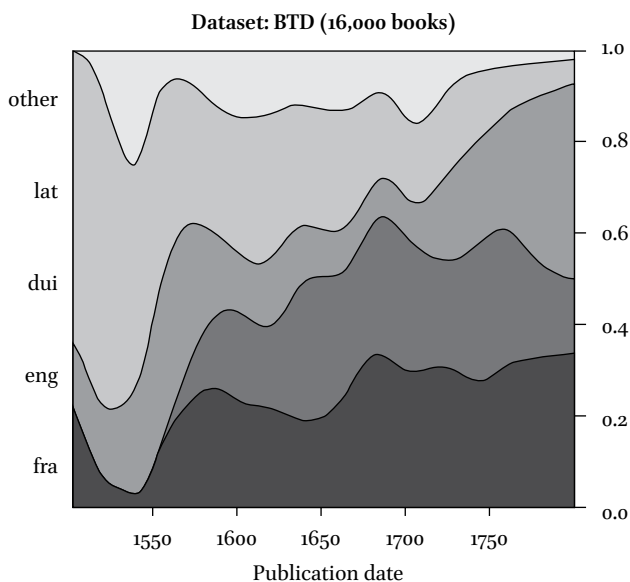


FIGURE 14.9 *Cumulative densities by language of origin for the subset of books translated into Dutch*

(Fig. 14.10; the last bar in the plot regroups all cities with fewer than 200 books individually). The 12 most important cities publish 90% of the books, but if we focus on the five major cities it only represents 76% of editions (Fig. 14.11). On the map of Fig. 14.12 we represented the total production of ten cities as circles of proportional radius (Amsterdam is scaled down by a factor of two so as not to obscure the rest): we can see that most of them are in the province of Holland, forming a local oligopoly. These cities have different spheres of activity that may be reflected in their publishing patterns: Amsterdam is a merchant city, The Hague houses the government, Leiden and Utrecht have universities, and so does the seemingly insignificant city of Franeker.

If we now compare the cumulative densities for the whole STCN (Fig. 14.13a) and for the books published in foreign languages (Fig. 14.13b) we see that, in both cases, in 1800 five cities produce almost 80% of the book entries even though the market is dominated at first by the diverse group made of many other cities where the publishing industry is starting out. We also see that after the early period (i.e. after 1600) the proportions have reached their 1800 level and stay rather stable throughout the second and late periods (1600–1800). However, the identities of these five major cities for books in foreign languages differ in two very important ways. First, the small city of Franeker is in the top five for BFL instead of Rotterdam. Second, and most striking, the city producing most BFL is not Amsterdam (first publishing city for the whole dataset) but Leiden.

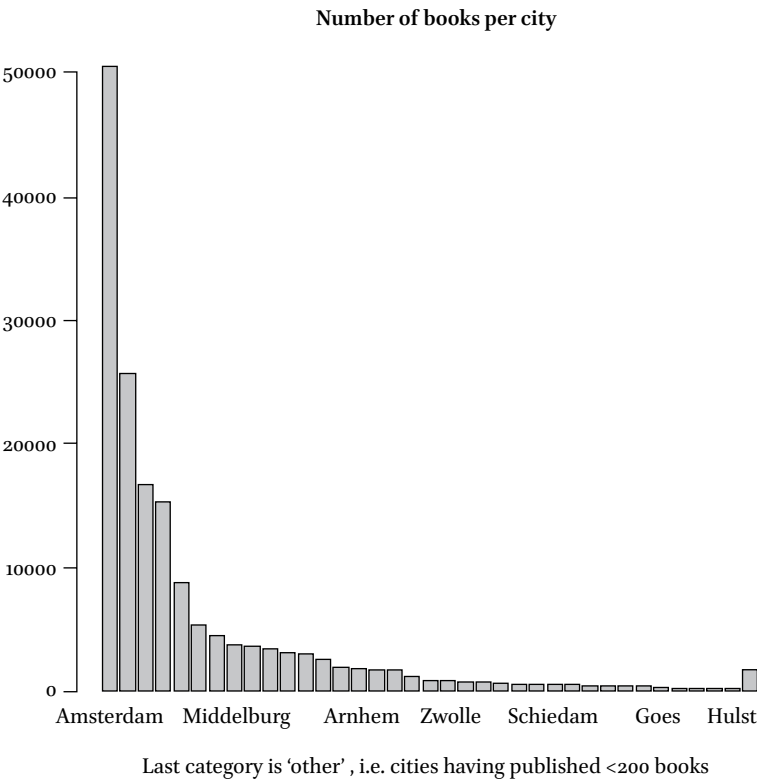


FIGURE 14.10 *Number of books published per city in the STCN*

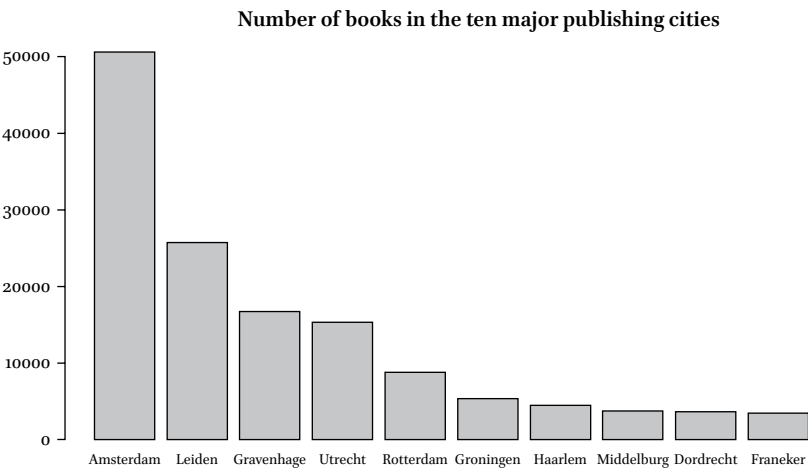


FIGURE 14.11 *Number of books published in the ten major cities*

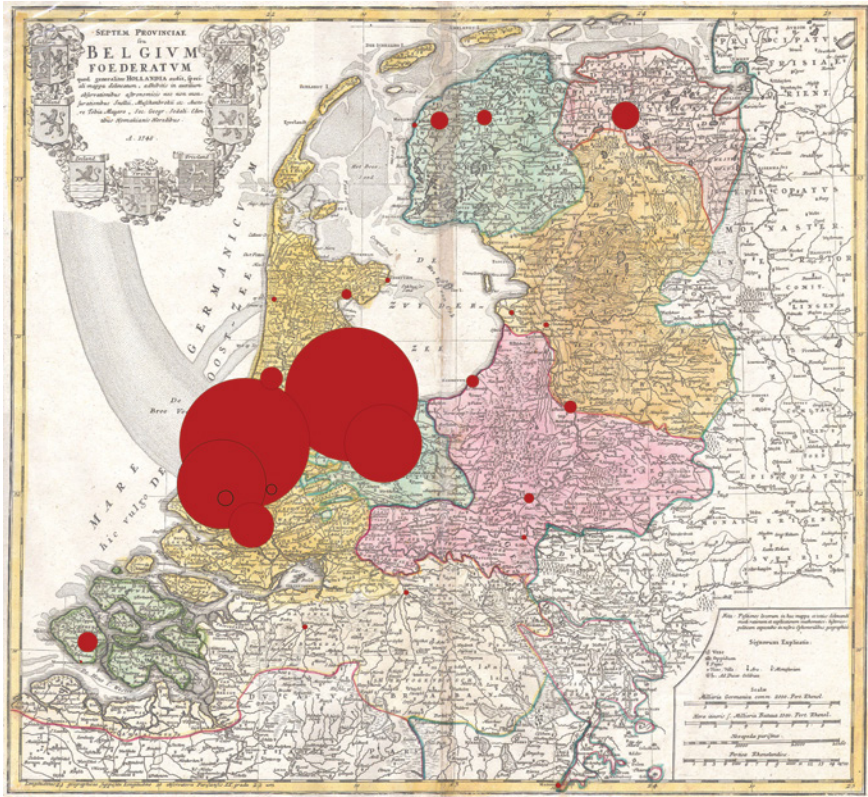


FIGURE 14.12 Map showing the total production of ten cities as circles of proportional radius

Through these different profiles we can detect a specialisation of some cities that adapt their production to meet the specific demands of the market.

Since the publication rates for each city stabilise early (see Fig. 14.13a and b), we can represent the data as shown in Figure 14.14: each city is represented by a colour and each language group is shown as a column (fl: foreign language; nd: native Dutch; td: Dutch translation). The area of each rectangle is proportional to the number of books published for each of the language groups in this city. We see that both Utrecht and Leiden show an over-representation of BFL compared to books in Dutch. Amsterdam shows the opposite pattern (books in Dutch are dominant), especially for translations: half the translations into Dutch are published in Amsterdam.

Furthermore, looking at the two foreign languages of the Dutch publishing industry (French and Latin) sheds some light on the specificities of Utrecht and Leiden, home to the two major Dutch universities. Fig. 14.15 is similar to

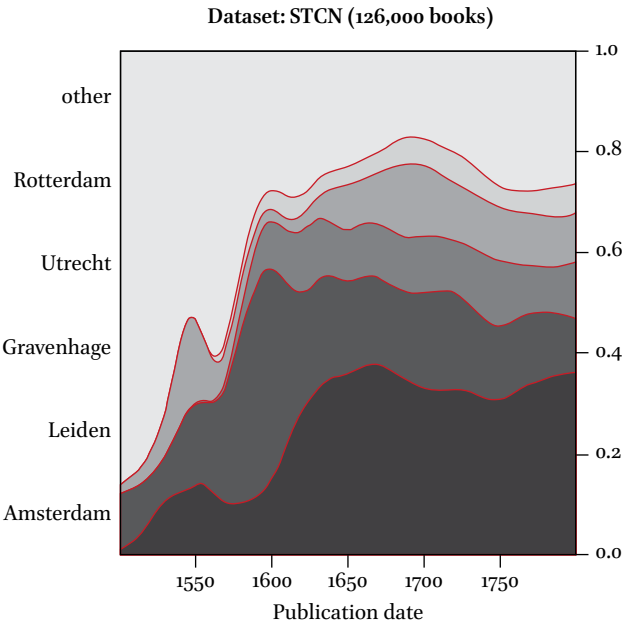


FIGURE 14.13A Cumulative densities for the whole STCN

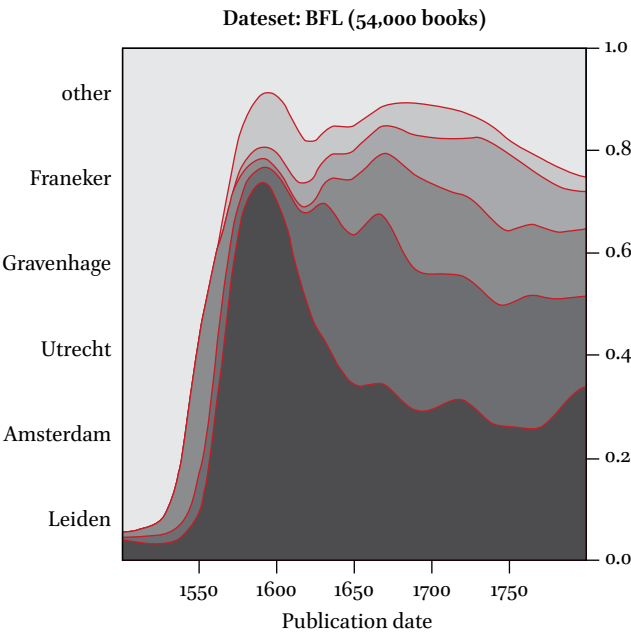


FIGURE 14.13B Cumulative densities for the books published in foreign languages

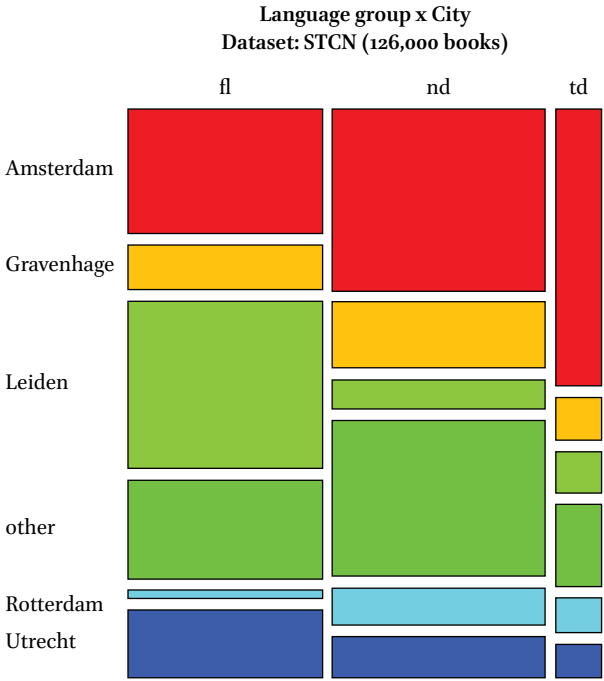


FIGURE 14.14 *Language group by city*



FIGURE 14.15 *Language by city*

Fig. 14.14 but the columns indicate the language in more detail (fra; French; lat: Latin; ned: Dutch; other: any of the 25 other languages found in the STCN). It shows the over-representation for Latin books in these two cities: together they produce almost 75% of books in this language. This can be explained by the demand from the universities for theological and scholarly texts, both mostly written in the international scholarly language, as well as the publishing of their own scientific production (also often in Latin, like for theses).

Amsterdam and the Hague on the other hand are clearly more French oriented: it makes sense because French then was the dominant language for international communication and these two cities harbour the trading and administrative elite of the nation. Moreover, a French population settled there after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and their descendants were still present in Amsterdam and The Hague. These two cities are very much in contact with the rest of the world and part of their production is meant for the export market. An in-depth study would be required to assess the role of these different factors in promoting the production of books in French, but this is outside of the scope of the present study. Finally, Amsterdam possesses a very specialised market of books in rare languages, small in terms of volume, but representing more than half of the books in 'other' languages throughout the country.

Cities in the Netherlands do show a specific production that can be linked with local demands (universities, specific populations, export from internationally trading cities...), thus allowing us to talk about specialised markets. To go even further, can we see some specificities in the types of books produced, such as the different formats?

Does Size Matter?

22 different formats exist in the STCN, but together, the quartos, octavos, duodecimos and folios represent 97% of the entries (Fig. 14.16). We therefore grouped all other formats in a single category. Using the same type of graph as before (Fig. 14.17), we can see that the format is tightly linked to the language of a book. Two in particular are segregated according to language: quarto format is used primarily to publish Latin texts and the duodecimo format for books in French. Octavos are mainly books in vernacular languages (under-represented in Latin), and folios show little specificity for language. The choice of format is thus independent from the notions of high quality or price: folios are no more likely to be a prestige edition in French destined for a rich merchant or diplomat than they are to contain a text in Dutch meant for a wider audience. Tradition has it that theological texts are printed in folios and neat little French books are usually duodecimo, but these trends seem to be merely editorial and cultural habits, linked to the perceptions of social status.

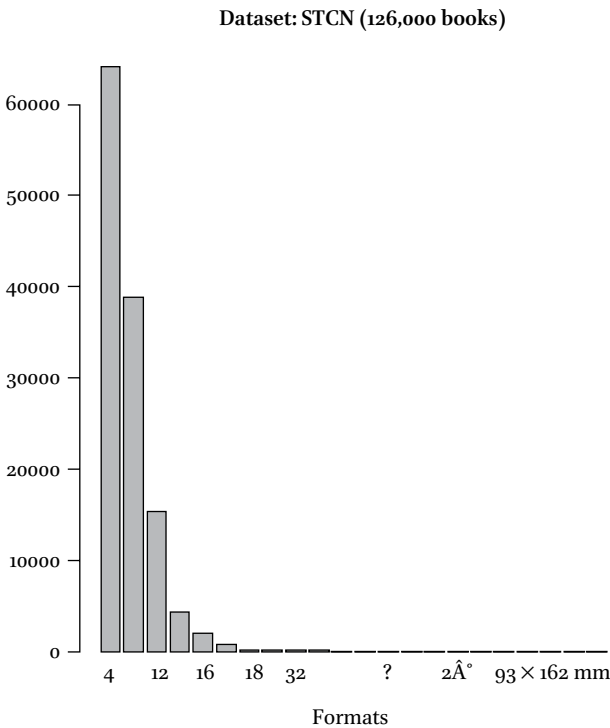


FIGURE 14.16 *Formats in the STCN*

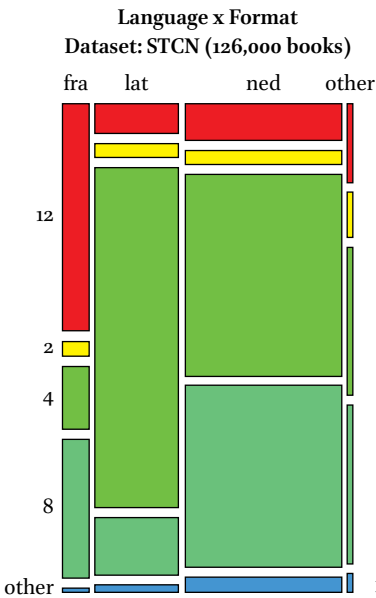


FIGURE 14.17 *Language and format in the STCN*

Conclusion

We investigated specialised markets for books in foreign languages because they have consequences for the entire publishing industry, such as finding and hiring craftsmen with enough knowledge of the language to typeset and proof-read the texts. In this study we showed (or confirmed through data analysis) the following results: (1) There is a significant market for books in foreign languages in the Netherlands. (2) This market is initially made of Latin books but a demand for French books develops in the seventeenth century. (3) Languages other than Latin and French are hardly represented in books in foreign languages. (4) Publishers of some cities do specialise in a certain foreign language. Franeker is a somewhat special case because they publish mostly theses in Latin, but The Hague specialises in French books and Leiden later on develops Latin books. (4) The production of foreign language books is correlated with publishing habits, as we saw with the link between language and format. A book published in French does not look like a Dutch book, and even less like a book in Latin. (5) The target audience is different for different languages: Latin books were meant for local scholars and not destined for an international market. The matter is more complex for French books and could benefit from further study.

However we could establish that (a) the production of French books, destined to a local audience, does not exclude a small but stable proportion of books translated into Dutch and (b) there is also a production meant to be exported, often linked to censorship in France. However, this points to a major limitation of the STCN endeavour: fake addresses are often used to avoid censorship and French books claiming a Dutch place of publication are often held in France, out of reach of the STCN. Therefore, it would be decisive to extend this research to cover the whole of Europe, and such a project would greatly benefit from tools such as the USTC.

In this study we did not set out to account for the evolving demand or the habits of the publishing industry, but rather to draw a picture of what this industry was like between 1500 and 1800. Establishing this baseline and studying local specificities reveals salient or unexpected phenomena that further our understanding of the context much needed for case studies. The data compiled by the STCN and analysed here, such as the type, language and format of books, provide a major part of this context for future use.

Tutor to Prince Henry: Adam Newton and an International Court in the Making

David McKitterick

In the following, I shall be concerned to do two things. First, I wish to explore a little of what we know about the library of the tutor to Henry, elder son of James VI of Scotland and I of England. Second, I wish to look at this from an international viewpoint: to reflect on similarities and distinctions to be found not just between Scotland and England, but more specifically to look towards France. My approach is thus at once enumerative and comparative. I shall also be concerned with some of the questions that arise in searching for the evidence of his books; for while we possess many of them today, it is by no means clear, from the mostly ambiguous evidence respecting much of what now faces us on library shelves, how much can in fact be attributed to this singular, ambitious climber of the greasy pole in the Jacobean (and later Caroline) court, Sir Adam Newton.¹ As tutor to the prince in whom were vested the hopes of protestant Europe, he occupies a position of singular interest with respect to his tutorial duties, his ambitions, his opportunities and his place at court after his royal charge was no longer his responsibility. He was a figure of some international interest as well as attainments.

In presenting essentially a bibliographical portrait of a man at or near the centre of Scottish and English public affairs for about forty years, I pay particular attention to what are in many ways the kinds of sources that have come to be accepted as thoroughly conventional: the books that he owned, the books that he wrote (or rather, in his case, translated) and some of his correspondence. In the last, I have ignored what might be called his correspondence of office, as tutor and secretary within two royal households, of Prince Henry and then of his younger brother Prince Charles. In such an approach, essentially of

1 For his biography, see principally the entry by Stuart Handley in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (ODNB). The most recent study of some of his career and work is contained in Aysha Pollnitz, 'Humanism and the education of Henry, Prince of Wales', in Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry revived. Image and exemplarity in early modern England* (Southampton, Southampton Solent University, 2007), pp. 22–64. In the following, I am especially grateful to Arnold Hunt and to Nicholas Poole-Wilson for help at crucial points, and once again for help efficiently provided in Cambridge University Library.

mentalité, we have to make various assumptions that are not always acknowledged. For books, ownership is not necessarily readership. In examining annotations, the circumstances and dates of reading cannot always be determined with much surety. With access to a large library belonging to his employer, Newton must be assumed to have read amongst those books as well, but to an unknowable extent. His manuscript commonplace book was in part personal, in part formed by the educational needs of his royal protégé and in part formulaic in the sense that it was indirectly derived in its concept and choice of headings from other similar compilations.² The sources were mostly from the ancient Greek and Latin authors, but they also included a smattering of modern ones: Erasmus, Guillaume Budé, Scaliger and Jean Bodin, besides *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* and Busbecq on Constantinople. Occasionally the entries were light-hearted. Perhaps the most difficult aspect of all in interpreting the surviving documents is that of time: the temporal relationships between these different kinds of evidence, and the constant probability that books were returned to sometimes repeatedly, sometimes rarely, but always in slightly or substantially different circumstances. Here we have a little, albeit often far from clear, comfort and guidance, in that the period for which Newton was attached to Prince Henry was for most of his protégé's life: 13 years. For his work some years later as an author, the period is rather shorter, consisting of his self-imposed task as translator and then the period in production, through the press, of a very large folio volume.

Henry, son of James VI and Anne of Denmark (the elder sister of Christian IV) was born at Stirling castle on 19 February 1594.³ His childhood was dominated by arguments between his Roman Catholic mother and his Protestant father. He was taken away from his mother less than a week after his birth, and while his mother kept her principal residence at Edinburgh, Henry remained at Stirling, under the guardianship of the earl of Mar. In 1599, James had printed a few copies (he claimed seven) of his *Basilikon doron*, a guide for the young prince's education.⁴

2 Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.14.10. For various kinds of commonplace books, see Earle Havens, *Commonplace books. A history of manuscripts and printed books from Antiquity to the twentieth century* (New Haven, Beinecke Library, 2001), with further bibliography.

3 The most convenient recent summary biography (on which the following paragraph draws) is by James M. Sutton, in the ODNB. Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's lost Renaissance* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1986) needs to be balanced by more recent work, especially by the collection of essays *Prince Henry revived* (see note 1 above) and by Catherine MacLeod (ed.), *The lost prince. The life and death of Henry Stuart* (London, National Portrait Gallery, 2012).

4 James I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1603), B2v; ed. James Craigie, (2 vols., Scottish Text Society, 1944–50). Adam Newton's copy is not among his books in Trinity College.

This was published again at Edinburgh, more widely, in 1603, and then by John Norton in the same year at London, where the book naturally attracted considerable interest thanks to its coinciding with James's accession to the English throne: demand was immense in the following 12 months – reflected in the several editions that rapidly followed each other, some of the book trade exploiting demand by inflating the price.⁵ Further editions were published in Latin and Welsh, and at Cambridge in 1603 a selection was printed in Latin and English verse composed by William Willymat: Adam Newton's copy, bound in limp vellum and with his initials gilt on each cover flanking a crowned rose, is now among his books in Trinity College, Cambridge.⁶ James's work was published abroad in French, Dutch, German, Swedish and Hungarian. A copy of the French translation (Paris, 1604), presented by the translator, also survives in Trinity College, and probably belonged to Newton.⁷ Thus from an early age interest in the young prince was propagated also across Europe. In 1599, James appointed Adam Newton as Henry's tutor; the slightly younger Sir David Murray was appointed as gentleman of the prince's bedchamber at the same time.⁸ While to some extent James and Anne were reconciled, arguments over Henry persisted. She bore two further children, Elizabeth (the future Queen of Bohemia) in 1596 and Charles (the future Charles I of England) in 1600. In 1603, when James ascended the English throne, Henry and his mother also travelled south, and Henry was established for a short time at Oatlands, the royal palace on the Thames a few miles upstream from Hampton Court, until his mother forced the breaking-up of this court. He seems to have had no permanent residence for the next few years, as he and his mother moved among the royal palaces, and his own entourage gradually increased to perhaps 500 men by 1610. In that year he was settled at St James's Palace, where he was able to pursue his collecting of paintings, sculpture, coins and other curiosities, and his patronage of the literary world. Prompted by Newton, a library room

5 STC 14348–14349 (Edinburgh, 1599, 1603), 14350–14354 (London, 1603), 14355 (Latin transl., London, 1604), 14356 (Welsh, 1604, uncompleted), 14357 (verse selection by William Willymat). For some aspects of production to meet demand at London in 1603, see Stanley Rypins, 'The printing of *Basilikôn Dôron*, 1603', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 64 (1970), pp. 393–417. For price inflation, see W.A. Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602–1640* (London, Bibliographical Soc., 1957), pp. 2–3.

6 Trinity College, Cambridge II.12.198.

7 Trinity College, Cambridge X.7.41, inscribed "Le don du traducteur".

8 See the account of him by S.M. Dunnigan in ODNB. For Queen Anne, see for example Leeds Barroll, 'The court of the first Stuart queen', in Linda Levy Peck (ed.), *The mental world of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 191–208.

was fitted out there at that time.⁹ About a hundred printed books are known to have been dedicated to Prince Henry, apart from an unknown number of manuscripts.¹⁰ Now well in his 'teens, ambitious both for himself and for his sister, fixedly Protestant, he enjoyed a carefully nurtured, extraordinary and international reputation for his martial skills, his general manner and the circle of those he drew round him. It all came to an abrupt and shocking end when he fell suddenly ill, probably from typhoid, and died on 6 November 1612.

This was some of the background of Adam Newton's employment, originally as tutor and then from 1610, as secretary to the Prince in a new independent royal household.¹¹ His background was unconventional for someone in such a position. His date of birth is unknown; and all that could be said of his family in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* was that his parentage likewise was unknown.¹² By nationality, if not by rank, he was suited to an influential position in the prince's household. After graduating from the university of Glasgow in 1582, his career was unconventional and controversial. A period in France masquerading as a priest and teaching at Poitou, where he taught Greek to the young Calvinist André Rivet (1572–1651), was followed by a brief time at the University of Edinburgh as professor of laws. Notwithstanding his title, he taught only humanity (Greek and Latin), until he was ejected in 1594.¹³ He was provided with a new livelihood when he became tutor to Prince Henry five years later. On the accession of James I in 1603 he was naturalised by Act of Parliament in London.¹⁴ From 1604, he was paid the substantial sum of £200 annually, a sum that may be compared with the annual salary of just 100 marks enjoyed by the prince's music master Thomas Giles.¹⁵ Though never

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- 9 H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The history of the King's Works* (6 vols., London, HMSO, 1963–82), vol. 4, p. 245; Patricius Junius (Patrick Young), *Mitteilungen aus seinem Briefwechsel*, ed. Johannes Kemke (Leipzig, 1898), p. 9.
 - 10 F.B. Williams, *An index of dedications and commendatory verses in English books before 1641* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1962).
 - 11 See the account of him by Stuart Harley in ODNB.
 - 12 He was later described as the son of a burgher of Edinburgh: Sir Alexander Grant, *The story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years* (2 vols., London, Longman, 1884), vol. 1, p. 185. See also John Durkan & James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451–1577* (Glasgow, University of Glasgow Press, 1977), p. 379.
 - 13 Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek MS BPL 282, fo.41: Paul Dibon, *Inventaire de la correspondance d'André Rivet (1595–1650)* (La Haye, Springer, 1971); Grant, *The story of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. 1, pp. 184–189.
 - 14 Private Acts 2 James I c.24.
 - 15 Frederick Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer; being payments made out of His Majesty's revenues during the Reign of James I* (London, J. Rodwell, 1836), pp. 33–35.

ordained, in 1606 Newton contrived, on the recommendation of Prince Henry, to be presented to the deanery of Durham, where after his installation he was an absentee:¹⁶ ignoring any accusations of simony, he sold the place in 1620 to Richard Hunt, DD from Cambridge and prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral, who henceforth held the two cathedral appointments at once.¹⁷ In the same year, perhaps using the proceeds to buy this secular preferment, Newton was appointed to a baronetcy.

He married well, to the sister of another of his pupils. Katherine Puckering was the daughter of Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Seal in 1592–6. This marriage, together with a large present of gilt plate on the occasion, a further cash payment in lieu of some privileges and an annual income of £2,000 as secretary to the marches of Wales, enabled him to build Charlton House in Kent, that has since been cautiously described by Pevsner as ‘spacious but not at all luxurious’.¹⁸ This large E-shaped house has been attributed, without documentary foundation, to the architect John Thorpe.¹⁹ It is now an oasis in the south-east London borough of Greenwich, and is used as a social centre, available also for weddings. Many of its original features survive, though the park has mostly been changed irrecoverably. The considerable size of Charlton House, about two miles from Greenwich Palace, is a measure of his ambition

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- 16 John Nichols, *The progresses, processions and magnificent festivities of King James the First* (4 vols., London, J.B. Nichols, 1828), vol. 2, pp. 34–35. Thomas Birch, *The life of Henry Prince of Wales* (London, 1760), p. 14, notes several other laymen who were appointed to deaneries. Among them, Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State from 1572 to 1576, had been Dean of Carlisle, and his successor Thomas Wilson (Secretary from 1577 to 1581) had been Dean of Durham. The practice was abolished by the Act of Uniformity in 1662.
- 17 Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. Hunt had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his DD in 1608. Prebendary of Canterbury 1614–33, Dean of Durham 1620–38, Prebendary of Lichfield 1636. For simony at this time, see Linda Levy Peck, *Court patronage and corruption in early Stuart England* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1990), p. 189.
- 18 Bridget Cherry & Nikolaus Pevsner, *London*. Vol. 2. *South* (Buildings of England) (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1994), p. 250. An account of the house and of the nearby parish church, which contains a monument to Adam Newton and his wife, is in Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *An Inventory of the historical monuments in London*. Vol. 5. *East London* (London, HMSO, 1930), pp. 17–19 (church) and 31–36 (house), with illustrations. These descriptions pre-date bomb damage in the Second World War. For further pictures, see www.greenwich-guide.org.uk/charhse.htm (consulted 13 November 2012). The orangery is now a public lavatory.
- 19 But not in the authoritative account of Thorpe in Howard Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects, 1600–1840* (3rd ed., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995), p. 979. For building schemes connected with Prince Henry, see Colvin (ed.), *The history of the King's Works*, vol. 3, pp. 121–128; for Greenwich at this time, see idem, vol. 4, pp. 111–118.

and his success. As a reminder to anyone who visited, he had it decorated with royal insignia, J[acobus] R[ex], and the feathers of the Prince of Wales, *Ich dien*. If he possessed a copy of Wendel Dietterlin's *Architectura* (Strassburg, 1593), from which the design of the centre of the main front was derived, it seems not to have survived.

After the death of Prince Henry, Newton remained with the royal household, with Prince Charles from 1612 and then, with the accession of Charles to the throne in 1625, as Secretary to the Council. He died in 1630.

What, however, of his books? We shall return to him as a translator and in his relations with his printer later in this paper. The books he owned are more complicated. All accounts of the household and education of Prince Henry naturally lay stress on the great library of Lord Lumley (d. 1609).²⁰ This in turn had incorporated large numbers of books belonging to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1556), and the Earl of Arundel (d. 1579), who gave his library to his son-in-law Lumley in 1566. In many ways it encapsulated a definition of a learned library for a wealthy person, overwhelmingly in Latin, with comparatively few books in English, and a little French and Italian. The Lumley library transformed both the nature and the numbers of books available to Henry, who besides these eventually possessed perhaps a thousand others, chosen more particularly for his needs and interests: this part of the collection has been most fully surveyed by the late Professor Birrell.²¹ While Newton, as Henry's tutor, had ready access to these books, they were not the only ones that he used.

On Henry's sudden death, his household was put in turmoil. As we have seen, Newton continued, giving up the secretaryship to Thomas Murray. It was probably at this time that many of the books that had belonged to Henry passed quietly into Newton's hands. Perhaps he had borrowed them for use in his own apartments, and simply forgot to hand them back. It is unlikely that he had been given all of them.

At this point it is useful to remind ourselves of the route by which Newton's books have come down to us. They were left to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1701 by Sir Henry Puckering (b. 1618), who as Henry Newton married Elizabeth Murray, daughter of the Provost of Eton. Henry was the son of Adam Newton

20 Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson, *The Lumley library. The catalogue of 1609* (London, British Museum, 1956).

21 T.A. Birrell, *English monarchs and their books. From Henry VII to Charles II* (London, British Library, 1987), pp. 30–40. Unfortunately Professor Birrell died before he could bring to publication his detailed survey of the Old Royal Library, including the books of Prince Henry.

and Katherine Puckering, and on the death of his elder brother he inherited both the baronetcy and Charlton House. In the 1650s he took the name Puckering. Thomas Puckering, son of the Lord Keeper, was Prince Henry's companion in his education, and was two years younger. In 1610 he left the royal household, and went to Paris. Given this dual descent, it may be surmised that the books came by two routes, from the Newton and the Puckering families. While this is not impossible, it seems that Adam Newton was both more advantageously placed when Henry died in 1612, and was more committed to books than was his pupil Puckering. In the 1630s Adam's son Henry Newton took a grand tour through France and Italy, and returned with dozens of books that he had bought on his travels.²²

Aside from this slightly circumstantial evidence, there is the material evidence of the books themselves. It lies partly in the specially bound copies of several books dedicated to Prince Henry, and partly in a few books from the Lumley library. Newton was certainly not shy of putting his own mark of ownership on many of the volumes, writing his name over the top of the large Lumley and Arundel inscriptions at the foot of title-pages in a clumsy attempt to disguise the real provenance, and to lay claim to the books, either as 'A Newton' or as 'Adamus Newton'.²³ The existence of these does not of course prove the rest, but it is a reasonable pointer to the provenance of the others. Of his other books, only a handful bear Adam Newton's name alone on their title-pages.²⁴ We may also at this point note a pamphlet collection of *Theses*

22 David McKitterick, 'Adding to the family library; an Englishman in Italy in the seventeenth century', in Angela Nuovo (ed.), *Biblioteche private in età moderna e contemporanea* (Milano, Bonnard, 2005), pp. 105–115.

23 See for example Matthaeus Westmonasteriensis, *Flores historiarum* (1570: STC 17563a, Trinity College, Cambridge VI.3.35, with presentation inscription from Matthew Parker to Lumley dated 17 December 1570, cf. Jayne and Johnson, *The Lumley library*, no. 1328); Carolus Sigonius, *Historiarum de occidentali imperio* (Basileae, 1579: Y.3.35, *Lumley library*, no. 1042); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitatum sive originum Romanarum libri X* (Basileae, 1549, II.13.36, *Lumley library*, no. 1069, wrongly identified as a French edition); Francesco Guicciardini, *Historie conteining the warres of Italie* (1579, VI.3.38, *Lumley library*, no. 1137); Ferdinando Pulton, *An abstract of all the penall statutes* (1592, VI.9.41, *Lumley library*, no. 2540); Vincentius Lupanus (Vincent de la Loupe), *Commentarii de magistratibus & praefactoris Francorum* (Paris, 1557, W.14.45, *Lumley library*, no. 1510 or 1513); Albert Crantz, *Ecclesiastica historia* (Basileae, 1568, L.14.23, *Lumley library*, no. 939, second copy).

24 For example Trinity College Adv.e.1.8 (Plato, *Phaedon* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1579)), inscribed "M.Adamus Neuton" at the head of the title-page, given to him by his father (inscription on front flyleaf). The book is interleaved with many manuscript notes.

philosophicae (Edinburgh: Andreas Hart, 1616) delivered at St Leonard's College, University of St Andrews, in June 1616 and which may also have been his. Like all the other books just mentioned, it came to Trinity College with the Puckering collection. Its limp vellum binding, presumably from Scotland, has the initials A and N on each side of an inexpertly applied gilt panel on the covers, with M[agister?] over the top.²⁵

To repeat: if anything at all is clear about Prince Henry's household after his death in 1612 it is that it was in a state of confusion. Adam Newton, as the royal tutor, had lost his star pupil. But he had not lost all that he had by him. It is not obvious how he came to retain such a number of printed books from the royal collections other than those of the King himself. In due course, as a result of these few years, Trinity College received, besides many Lumley books, Queen Anne's copy, coloured, gilt and specially bound, of John Speed's *Historye of Great Britaine* (1611).²⁶ It also received some exercises in writing and composition by Prince Henry and a few manuscripts dedicated or presented to him;²⁷ several of his own books identifiable now most easily by the fleur-de-lys on the covers. Further books are evidence of the strictly hierarchical nature of dedication copies. In some cases, mostly in vellum wrappers with elementary gilt decoration, Newton's copies of books dedicated to Prince Henry are evidently presentation or specially bound copies, suitable for a close associate of the dedicatee, but naturally in slightly less expensive coverings.

Jayne and Johnson provide a systematic account not just of Lumley's collection, but also of its dispersal. I wish here to concentrate just on one aspect of the latter, as it is reflected in the collections of Trinity College, Cambridge. They list 21 titles in Trinity – not quite accurately for there is one book that was definitely not Lumley's, and they fail to list all the contents of one of the other volumes. More importantly, their list can be substantially extended. So far, I have counted about 60 further titles all of which seem to have come from Newton's own shelves. These extra books include two volumes that once belonged to the antiquary Humphrey Lloyd who had been instrumental in advising on building up the Lumley library – one with an ownership date

25 Trinity College, Cambridge VI.9.14; STC 21555.27. Among the students named on the title page is Robertus Neutonius, admittedly hardly an unusual name. Various misprints have been corrected by hand.

26 Trinity College, Cambridge VI.5.23.

27 These included the only known autograph copy of poems, several unpublished, by the epigrammatist John Owen. Now Trinity College ms R.7.23*(8): Nicholas Poole-Wilson (ed.), *John Owen's epigrams for Prince Henry. The text of the Presentation Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge* (London, Quaritch, 2012).

of 1565.²⁸ The subjects covered include patristics, continental history, religious controversy, Italian grammar, Machiavelli's *Il principe* (Basel, 1560), *Magna carta*, Mayerne's *Generall historie of Spaine* (1612), Guicciardini's history of Italy (1579), Lambard's *Archaionomia* (1568) and Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta* (Rome, 1593).²⁹ Along with authors such as Gildas on Britain and Quintus Curtius on Alexander the Great, already recorded in Jayne and Johnson, we begin to assemble a picture of Newton as tutor, reading in preparation to teach his royal charge who would one day be King.³⁰ Or we might look for mottoes – added not by Lumley but by previous owners: these include 'Laus impiorum brevis', 'The triumphing of the wicked is short' (Job 20.5).³¹ Jayne and Johnson identify six of the Trinity books as having come from the library of Lord Arundel. This can be extended to 16, one of them not having the usual manuscript name, but a stamp imitating an elegant italic hand.³² At least two had belonged to Thomas Cranmer.³³

In addressing Newton's attitudes to, and use of, these books, it is important also to notice their individualities, including the condition in which they came to him. Understandably, in the half-century and more since Jayne and Johnson's work was published in 1956, emphases have changed. They achieved an immense amount, and anyone who has had cause to consider libraries and book ownership in the English renaissance has turned with gratitude to their work. But it is now striking how little attention they really paid to the origins of the Lumley library beyond a careful documentation of the main

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- 28 Trinity College V.9.86: Laurentius Valla, *Historiarum Ferdinandi, regis Aragoniae: libri tres* (Paris, 1521); W.21.41(1): Francesco Sansovino, *Dell'istoria universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi. Parte terza* (Venice, 1561).
 - 29 Luigi Balsamo, *Antonio Possevino S.I., bibliografo della Controriforma, e diffusione della sua opera in area anglicana* (Firenze, Olschki, 2006).
 - 30 It is also perhaps worth noting the copy of Andreas Rodrigues's *Sententiae* (Lyon, 1557) (III.13.95), listed by Jayne and Johnson and noted by them as having belonged to Jane Lumley, had formerly been given to Humphrey Hall by Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey, on 25 October 1567: in February 1579/1580 he was to succeed his grandfather as Earl of Arundel.
 - 31 Y.3.35: Carlo Sigonio, *Historiarum de occidentali imperio libri XX* (Basel, 1579).
 - 32 W.12.67: Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae gestis* (Cologne, 1574).
 - 33 David G. Selwyn, *The library of Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1996), pp. xxxv–xxxvi. The general assumption that Newton received Prince Henry's books thanks to Patrick Young's disposal of unwanted duplicates from among Lumley's library seems implausible, given the prominent nature of some of the books he acquired. It is of course possible that he acquired books both before or on the prince's death, and also at this later disposal.

sources – Cranmer, Arundel and so forth. They also paid some attention to the books once they were in the hands of Prince Henry, and reproduced his well-known feathers in one of their plates. But if one looks for more detailed evidence of how Lumley and the prince had their books bound, of the many personal connections that Lumley had with court and other social circles, there is very little. They noted just one example, and that little more than a possibility, of evidence of Lumley's spending money on binding his books, a set bearing the initials on the front, each side of a central ornament, L I. The example they illustrate is gilt. A further example that has now turned up at Trinity, also very poorly executed but this time in blind, has the initials I L, on VI.9.41, a copy of Ferdinando Pulton's compilation of criminal law (1592). Were this survey to be tackled again, it would probably seek to answer some of these more general questions. We have in the last few years become much more interested in what even quite ordinary bindings can tell us, and what the inscriptions of seemingly mundane matters can tell us.

Jayne and Johnson were most concerned with the bibliographical content of the Lumley library, only to some extent with its formation, and to a greater extent with its absorption and place in the old royal library. No doubt it was because of these preoccupations that they did not take their study a stage further, and examine the contexts of friendship, patronage and influence that contributed to its making. The copy of Matthaeus Westmonasteriensis *Flores historiarum* (VI.3.35), for example, is marked inside the front board with a donation note by Matthew Parker, dated 17 December 1570: the copy, coloured and in a gilt binding, was one of those sent out by Parker to a small circle on the book's publication: 'Lumley' has been written in another, much larger, hand beneath the donation inscription.³⁴ Another book, on alchemy, belonged in the sixteenth century to one Henry Marshall.³⁵ And what lies behind the superior gilt binding on D.43.31 (Alban Langdale's attack on Nicholas Ridley, Paris, 1556), with its several English dedicatees? Most of the Lumley books were in quite plain bindings, many – even the folios – just in vellum, so the appearance of a gilt calf binding is of some significance. Parker's presentation copy of Matthaeus Westmonasteriensis, Peter Apian's collection of Latin inscriptions (Ingoldstadt, 1534) and the copy of Guicciardini's *Historie* (1579) also stand out for this reason. Besides this, the potential interest of annotations has become much clearer since *The Lumley Library* was published in 1956. Bartholomew

34 For another coloured copy, with the title *De rebus Britannicis*, cf. Cambridge University Library Sel.3.95, presented to the University by Parker.

35 M.12.162: Petrus Bonus, *Pretiosa margarita novella de thesauro, ac pretiosissimo philosophorum lapide* (Venice, 1546).

Phillip's *The counsellor* (1589: VI.1.154) was not remarked by Jayne and Johnson as containing underlinings.³⁶ But if we look at these underlinings (cautiously noting that they are not necessarily by Newton himself), and reflect on the history of this copy, perhaps we come rather close to the education of Prince Henry himself. For we find passages underlined such as "if there be not diuers minds and opinions in their consultations, how can the Prince choose that which is best", or "we ought not so much to respect the age of men, as their abilitie, which is known by their words and deeds".

All of these – to repeat – were in the hands of Newton, with the implication that he chose them at first if not to keep, then at least to read. They remained in his hands at his death. To understand such books we need to ask, how did these books escape from the Prince of Wales's household? Jayne and Johnson suggest that the main dispersals took place under the aegis of Patrick Young, who became royal librarian at some date (probably 1609) during Prince Henry's lifetime. In fact we can be more precise than that. This almost certainly oversimplifies the story, and some of the complications emerge if we consider the context of these Lumley-Trinity College books more broadly.

Newton himself published very little, with one major exception. His acquaintance with William Bedell, dated from at least the end of 1607, when Newton asked to be kept informed concerning matters in Venice. Bedell had been a Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, before accepting a living in Bury St Edmunds, and then in 1607 becoming chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to Venice. Bedell's time there coincided with the attempted murder of Paolo Sarpi, and he was drawn increasingly into Venetian religious politics, including jealousies between Franciscans and Jesuits as well as between Venice and the papacy. Bedell's long and detailed letters to Newton were in effect ambassadorial reports, sent to the court of the heir to the English throne.³⁷ Out of his time there grew his project to translate from Italian into Latin Paolo Sarpi's history of the Council of Trent, originally published in Italian at London under a pseudonym in 1619.³⁸ The work was quickly published in English the following year, but neither Italian nor English could expect much of a readership in most of continental Europe. Although Bedell returned to England in 1610, and did not die until 1642, the task of completing

36 Trinity College VI.1.154.

37 Bedell's letters of 1 January 1607/8 and 1 January 1608/9 are printed from Bodleian Library MS Tanner 75 in *Two biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore*, ed. E.S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 226–251.

38 STC 21760; see also Noel Malcolm, *De Dominis (1560–1624). Venetian, Anglican, ecumenist and relapsed heretic* (London, Strickland and Scott, 1984), pp. 55–57.

the all-important Latin translation passed to Newton when Bedell was appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. By then he seems to have drafted translations of only the last two books.

On 9 August 1620, Newton wrote to his brother-in-law concerning the complications of production, of how it was interfering with his family life and how the printers were handling several other books at the same time:

I pray yow think that as by my booke I haue bene depryved of dyvers comforts of my lyfe which otherwyse I might haue more fully enjoyed, so this I shall accompt one of my greatest losses, to misse of the meeting of my deerest and best frends, and that which I propounded vnto my selfe as my refreshment after the finishing of my labours. But I am so farre from having ended, that there remanes two bookes yet to print, the printers having beene letted first by printing a book of the Bishop of Derryes, next by a book of the B. of Lichfield and Coventrie, and now by some work of my Lord Chancellor. By which occasions, though I not withstanding do imploy all my tyme, and must attend the printers every day, yet I haue had the most tyme of breathing from the Workmen still calling for more copy. And now I beginne to find in the 7. and 8. books, which were done by Mr Bedell, that which I feared much, that the inequality of the style would putt me to a great deale of paines in the altering thereof; and when I have done as much as the tyme will permitt, a diligent reader will yet easily observe the difference....

I have left St James and am come to fleetstreet, that I may be more out of the way, since the Printers suffer me not goe to Charleton.³⁹

Newton's translation was given the false imprint *Augustae Trinobantum*.⁴⁰

What of the books dedicated or addressed to Newton?⁴¹ As a semi-public figure he was a figure of attention, even if he could have little influence in providing support for authors. For James Cleland, a fellow Scotsman who in 1607 addressed to a group in court circles his *Hero-paideia, or the institution of a young noble man* (Oxford, 1607), he was a representative type: the tutor of a young nobleman (though in this instance actually to a prince). Cleland

39 British Library MS Harley 7004, f.81. For Sarpi's book, see also Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, politics, and culture. The King's printers in the reign of James I and VI* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 106–111, 129.

40 STC 21764. Newton's own copy, with his notes on errata, is now Trinity College C.2.28.

41 Franklin B. Williams, Jr., *Index of dedications and commendatory verses in English books before 1641* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 136.

advocated that a young nobleman should seek education at court rather than at university, and dedicated his book to Prince Charles. More particularly, he addressed to Newton and to Thomas Mourray, tutor to prince Charles, his chapter on the duties of tutors. “Ad sacra vatum carmen affero nostrum”.⁴² in quoting Persius he added, “I offer this book in particular, (according to the ancient custome of Ægypt) as vnto the two most skilful and iudicious Censors of this Art”. Cleland was prescriptive in this as in his other chapters: his book included not only details of which classical authors were to be read, but also very practical instructions on how reading and writing were to be taught.⁴³ Two years later Christopher Lever dedicated to Newton, “Tutor to the Prince, and Deane of Durham”, and to Murray as tutor to the Duke of York, *The holy pilgrime. leading the way to new Jerusalem*. The emphasis in these cases was evidently pedagogic, or perhaps patronage-seeking: there was no suggestion of real friendship.

Seemingly more personally, though the author himself was constantly seeking patronage, Newton was among several people to whom the neo-Latin poet John Owen addressed epigrams. They were not included in the only known autograph manuscript of Owen’s work, a collection dedicated to Prince Henry.⁴⁴

Tergemini Britonum regni spes altera Princeps
Iam docilis docto discit ab ore tuo.
Quem sic instituas, ventura ut nesciat aetas,
Rex fuerit maior, doctior, an melior.

They was translated by Robert Hayman as

*To Master Adam Newton, Tutor to King Charles,
when he was Prince of Wales.*
The hopefull’st Prince that euer this Land breed,
Is from thy learned mouth so discipleed,
That times hereafter will be arguing,
Which he was; Greater, More learn’d, Better King?

42 More fully, “Ipse semipaganus/ad sacra uatum carmen adfero nostrum”, Persius, *Saturae*, Prologus ll.6–7.

43 STC 5393; Falconer Madan, *The early Oxford press* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895), p. 66.

44 I am most grateful to Nicholas Poole-Wilson at this point. See also John Owen, *Epigrammatum*, ed. John R.C. Martyn (2 vols., Leiden, Brill, 1976–8), vol. 1, p. 50 and vol. 2, p. 61.

To which Hayman added:

*To the same Master Newton, to whome for kindnesse
receiued I am further indebted.*

I know thou art as learn'd as *Arist'le*,
Thy Pupill will his farre surpasse in battle,
In goodnesse, good *Iosiah*, *Dauid* rather;
In learning *Tresmagist*, or his own Father.⁴⁵

In the same way, in 1608 Joseph Hall, chaplain to Prince Henry, addressed a letter to Newton as "Tutor to the Prince": "Sir, God hath called you to a great and happie charge; You haue the custodie of our common Treasure". Though addressed to Newton, the letter was more an opportunity to praise the prince. Newton himself was almost incidental.⁴⁶ In 1612, Henry Peacham included him in his book of emblems *Minerva Britanna*, addressing a poem to him as "Secretarie to Prince Henry".⁴⁷ In none of these is there any sense of personal involvement or of circles of friendship. Newton's reputation depended on his position. More than that, his position defined him. Those who addressed him were seeking preference more than they were celebrating friendship.

While much of this was naturally centred on the English court, the watchful eyes of Europe on Prince Henry gave Newton's activities an overseas context. Most of all was the question of the prince's marriage: France, Spain, Florence and Savoy all offered possibilities. Henri IV, his godfather, and Protestant turned Catholic, gave presents to the prince, and sent people to England who could help in his more general education.⁴⁸ As we have seen, Newton had spent part of his early adulthood in France incognito, masquerading as a priest in Huguenot Poitou. He returned long before the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, but he retained links with the country, in both political and personal correspondence. For his own career, court rivalries and religious intolerance both played their parts at different times. Whether in observing royal gifts, in the correspondence of office, or in his own private life, French connections were routine.

The same international nexus helped shape the lives of Henri IV's son, and the French royal librarian Isaac Casaubon. At the death of his father, the future

45 Robert Hayman, *Quodlibets lately come ouer from New Britaniola* (1628), p. 10.

46 STC 12662, Joseph Hall, *Epistles, the first volume* (1608), p. 17.

47 STC 19511, Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna, or a garden of heroical devises* (1612), p. 40, "The Laurel ioyned to the fruitefull vine, In friendly league perpetually doe growe".

48 MacLeod (ed.), *The lost prince*, p. 159.

Louis XIII was aged nine. Hounded by Roman Catholics, Casaubon fled to England, and found protection with James I, while Marie de Médicis, widow of Henri IV, drew power to herself. Casaubon's decision to remain in England, where he found a circle much more attuned to his beliefs and opinions, was felt as much a loss in Paris as it was a prize in London. He was vastly more learned than Newton: Casaubon's skills as an editor, in ancient and modern languages, in his systematic study of his books, and his capacity for analysis, set him in a class of his own. For the breadth of his scholarship and for his cosmopolitan outlook he had no peer in London. But while many contemporaries viewed matters in this way, there was also a deeper significance. James I's personal and self-conscious commitment to scholarship, exemplified in his own preoccupations and in his influence on the education of his son, was the antithesis of Paris. There, Casaubon's position as royal librarian had afforded both an income and the time to pursue a scholarly career of wide interests; but his religious beliefs made his daily life precarious in a city where anti-Protestant feeling ran high. In England, James was demanding of Casaubon's time, and took an informed interest in religious polemic and debate. In return, Casaubon received an annual grant.⁴⁹

This interplay between France, England and Scotland, the parallels and differences in the existence of two young princes, merits some reflection. It draws attention not only to the closeness in age of Louis and Prince Henry, but also to the immense intellectual differences between their two courts. Some set Casaubon and Newton side by side.⁵⁰ The former was credited with the translation from French into Latin of James I's attack on the Arminian Conrad Vorstius (1612).⁵¹

49 The best general account of Casaubon's life in Paris and London remains Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon, 1559–1614* (2nd ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1892). But, more specifically, see now Anthony Grafton & Joanna Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue. Isaac Casaubon, the Jews and a forgotten chapter in Renaissance scholarship* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2011). So far as is known, Newton played no part in the obtaining for the royal library of about 350 of Isaac Casaubon's printed books in 1614. This was a very different collection from the Lumley library. Casaubon annotated as he read, mostly but not exclusively on title-pages and fly-leaves, and his books were accorded added value as a consequence. See also T.A. Birrell, 'The reconstruction of the library of Isaac Casaubon', in Ton Croiset van Uchelen (ed.), *Hellinga Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam, Israël, 1980), pp. 59–68, and Birrell, *English monarchs and their books*, p. 58. For Patrick Young's interest in Casaubon's books in 1614, see his letter to the Bishop of Lincoln on 2 August: Patricius Junius, *Mitteilungen*, pp. 23–24.

50 Newton does not obviously figure in Casaubon's published *Epistolae* (Rotterdam, 1709) or his *Ephemerides*, ed. John Russell (Oxford, 1850).

51 STC 9232.

In fact Newton seems to have been responsible. “Yet could I never be persuaded”, wrote Tobie Mathew, Archbishop of York, “that Mons. Casaubon was the translator, notwithstanding the common report thereof, finding both the word and phrase to be much more pure and elegant in my conceit, than were those other treatises by him published”.⁵² More generally, there was no comparing the intellectual abilities of the linguistically skilled but sometimes risk-taking Newton and the cosmopolitan scholarly brilliance of the often personally insecure Casaubon who hesitated long before coming to England. This was at an individual level. Institutionally, the differences in ambitions were reversed. Prince Henry has been often lauded for his intellectual virtues as well as his martial ones and his taste for collecting antiquities and works of art. His premature death prompted a flood of panegyric in print and manuscript.⁵³ More date from Thomas Birch’s biography, published in 1760 and dedicated to George Prince of Wales – soon to become George III. Birch offered Henry as a model. In fact, as Aysha Pollnitz has pointed out, this has been overstated, not least by Roy Strong in his influential book of 1986.⁵⁴ The acquisition of the Lumley library is sometimes cited as a manifestation of this, though in fact this was determined by others, not least Lord Lumley himself. The exact circumstances of its acquisition following Lumley’s death in 1609 are unclear, but it seems most probable that Lumley himself wished it to pass to the prince as a gift. Others, including Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury (and himself no mean book collector⁵⁵), were also anxious that he should possess a library as a contribution to his education.⁵⁶ There is certainly no reason to suppose that a fifteen-year old boy can have taken more than a tolerant part in this. It was engineered for him. Most of the books passed in due course into the English royal library, the most significant single addition of printed books in its history to that date.

The contrast with the treatment of the French heir is striking. No such provision was ever made for him. There were apparently no such hopes for him. Nor was his public persona so assiduously created by those around him. The death of Henri IV left matters in turmoil, and his widow showed herself to be

52 Quoted in Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 15.

53 Elizabeth Goldring, “‘So iust a sorrowe so well expressed’: Henry, Prince of Wales and the art of commemoration”, in Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry revived*, pp. 280–300.

54 Aysha Pollnitz, ‘Princely education in sixteenth-century Britain’ (Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 2006).

55 See James Carley, “All casualties unto which all things in this mortall life are subject”: the libraries of archbishops John Whitgift (d. 1604) and Richard Bancroft (d. 1610), *The Book Collector*, forthcoming.

56 Jayne and Johnson, *The Lumley library*, pp. 13–17. The article by C.J. Sisson on the involvement of Bancroft, noted as forthcoming (p. 16, n.3), has never appeared.

more concerned with clinging to her own power than with the education and promotion of the heir to the throne. The change in interests was overwhelming. While much has been written about additions of manuscripts to the French royal library under Henri IV, very little detailed work has been done on additions to its collections of printed books.⁵⁷ Soon after Catherine de Médicis died in 1588, crippled by debt, her library passed to the King.⁵⁸ In 1593, having already acquired the matchless second Bible of Charles the Bald from the abbey of St Denis,⁵⁹ Henri bought the manuscripts of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, including a large number of illuminated manuscripts from the Aragon library in Naples. He was an active collector, opportunist but also taking a considerable interest in the arrangements for the care of his library.⁶⁰ Louis inherited none of his father's intellectual ambitions, and few pretended that he did.⁶¹ He had little interest in books, while those responsible for his education seem to have possessed none of the vision or ambition in the circles surrounding Prince Henry. It was perhaps partly thanks to this lack of personal engagement in the French court that during the first years of the seventeenth century there was a shift in terminology, as the Bibliothèque du Roi moved from being a personal collection to one that was more widely accessible and a system of legal deposit was established.⁶²

Ambitions, personalities and public policy aside, there was no-one like Newton at the French court. It was Newton to whom Sir Peter Young wrote asking that his son Patrick should be made keeper of the royal library.⁶³ It was Newton, as tutor to Prince Henry, who made probably more use of the books than his royal employer. It was Newton who was in a position to take advantage of Patrick Young's programme of discarding Lumley books that duplicated

57 Two catalogues taken in 1622 list only a few hundred printed books: H. Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale. 2. La Bibliothèque royale à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1909), pp. 510–537.

58 Le Roux de Lincy, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Catherine de Médicis', *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 13 (1858), pp. 915–941.

59 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat.2.

60 Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (4 vols., Paris, 1868–81), vol. 1, pp. 200–201, 207–210, 217–256; Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800* (Genève, Droz, 1988), pp. 49–53.

61 His physician, Jean Héroard, or Hérouard, compiled in six huge volumes an exceptionally full account of his life until 1628: see Jean Héroard, *Journal*, ed. Madeleine Foisil (2 vols., Paris, Fayard, 1989).

62 Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800*, pp. 55, 58–59.

63 British Library MS Harley 252, f.8v.: for Patrick Young (1584–1652), see Patricius Junius (Patrick Young), *Mitteilungen*; Jayne and Johnson, *The Lumley library*, p. 18.

those already in the royal collection. But, on the other hand, it was also Newton who contrived to acquire books from the Lumley collection that had already been rebound with the insignia of the Prince of Wales when Henry died in 1612. Never one to ignore opportunity, and advantageously placed both in the household of Prince Henry and then of Prince Charles, Newton's later career took him away from access to the royal library. But he departed well supplied.

Unlike his colleague in Prince Henry's household, David Murray, no portrait is known of Newton.⁶⁴ Our knowledge of him is restricted by the fate of his papers. His son Henry Newton, later Puckering, left Charlton in the Civil War, and retreated to Warwick. The house was sold. Then, following the death of his wife, Henry sold his Warwick house in turn, and transferred his by now large library to Cambridge. He took quantities of family papers with him, including many relating to Prince Henry. Gradually he gave his books and some manuscripts to Trinity for the new library designed by Sir Christopher Wren.⁶⁵ He died in 1701, leaving behind an assortment of papers that passed into the hands of John Laughton, Fellow of the College. Laughton in turn died in 1712, and the papers now passed to George Paul of Jesus College. After some negotiations following Paul's death, this residue was mostly bought by Lord Harley.⁶⁶ By this route, they passed into the Harleian collection and thence to the British Museum. This winnowing has reduced our ability to judge many aspects of Adam Newton's career, let alone his private life. Instead, we are left with his books. It is a familiar situation. Only a minority of book owners have ever left the kinds of annotation that provide the most obvious and direct evidence of their intellectual, devotional, professional or other quotidian preoccupations and needs. But among these books, their sources as well as their contents, is the evidence of an individual at the centre of the court of a prince on whom the hopes were pinned not just of England and Scotland, but also of much of Europe.

It needs no repeating that Britain depended on books imported from continental Europe for many of its needs, and that anybody with scholarly interests at even a quite modest level would need to possess numbers of them. We do

64 The portrait of Murray is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh. See MacLeod, *The lost Prince*, pp. 72–73.

65 David McKitterick, 'Books and other collections', in David McKitterick (ed.), *The making of the Wren Library* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 50–109; pp. 56–60.

66 Humfrey Wanley to Lord Harley, 30 December 1713, with a summary list of the residue, not mentioning the recent provenance beyond Paul: Humfrey Wanley, *Letters*, ed. P.L. Heyworth (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 288–290. See also C.E. Wright *Fontes Harleiani* (London, British Museum, 1972), pp. 270–271.

not know how many books Newton bought. Instead, we know what he chose to keep from the shelves of his royal charge; we know a little of the books dedicated to him, at least in print; we know – thanks not least to his commonplace book – something of his wider reading; and while not everything is clear we know something of his career as a writer engaged in the propaganda campaign against Roman Catholicism. On this basis we can establish much concerning how his specialist needs and interests were supplied.

“Quod Exemplaria vera habeant et correcta”: Concerning the Distribution and Purpose of the *Pecia* System

Nikolaus Weichselbaumer

At the European universities of the thirteenth century the reproduction of manuscripts was fundamentally reorganised. A *pecia* system was developed to allow for the commercial and efficient copying of books. This facilitated ‘publishing’ in a previously unknown sense. As soon as a text was available in *peciae* it could be circulated to doctors, masters and students within weeks. We even know of one case in which Gerard of Abbeville rebutted the beginning of a work by St. Thomas Aquinas which, although not even finished at that point, was already partially in circulation.

This paper deals with the distribution and the purpose of the *pecia* system: was it developed primarily to provide a sufficient supply of manuscripts for the specialised book market of the university or to facilitate the surveillance of text quality? In order to answer this question, the origin, distribution and disappearance of the *pecia* system in Europe are examined.

The *Pecia* System

European universities underwent fundamental changes around 1200. The loosely organised and unrecorded *studii* of the twelfth century developed into *universitates scholarium* which were transformed into hierarchically structured institutions with written statutes as a consequence of their struggles for recognition and funding with popes, cities and kings. The universities grew considerably. As a consequence, in addition to student accommodation, discipline and catering, the provision of texts for the purposes of teaching was a pressing issue and concern. Teachers at the abbey and monastery schools could resort to their libraries and *scriptoria* to cover their needs. Furthermore, the demand for multiple copies of the same texts would never have reached university levels there. A major drawback of the conventional method of copying one book directly from another was that the template was not available for teaching and studying during the time it was being copied. Another problem was the fact that copying a manuscript could take up to a year or longer

depending on its length. At some universities a system was established by means of which many copies could be produced from one homogeneous template. Thereto, the respective texts were initially transferred onto loose quires of standardised length of mostly eight pages. These quires, namely *peciae*, could be rented from stationers and copied. Thus, technically as many writers could work simultaneously on a single template – called *exemplar* – as the number of quires it consisted of. As the quires had the same length, they did not necessarily have to be copied in the chronological order of the text. In the case where a desired quire was not available, the following one could be borrowed and copied. The space needed for the omitted *pecia* could be calculated on the basis of the space required for copying other *peciae*.

Italy

There is a consensus that the origins of the *pecia* system lie in Bologna. An exact date, however, cannot be identified as the *pecia* system must have existed before the Bolognese statutes were established. The earliest indication of *peciae* in Bologna is of an indirect nature: in 1222 some professors and their students moved from Bologna to Padua and established a new *studium* there, the nucleus of the future University of Padua. Later on, in 1228, the city of Vercelli persuaded some of those students to establish a new *studium*. The terms of this foundation as well as the privileges awarded to the *studium* are regulated in the contract of Vercelli. The following passage can be found there, among others:

Item habebit commune Vercellarum duos exemplatores, quibus taliter providebit, quod eos scolares habere possint, qui habeant, exemplancia [leg. Exemplaria] in utroque iure et in theologia, competencia et correcta tam in textu quam in gloxa. Ita quod solucio fiat a scolaribus pro exemplis secundum quod convenit ad taxacionem rectorum.¹

The chancellors of the newly founded community required the city to guarantee the operation of the *pecia* system. The terms *exemplator* and *exemplaria* are used without further explanation which implies that their meaning is generally known. The *pecia* system surely was established in Bologna before 1228, probably even before 1222. It is out of the question to date this innovation back to the fairly young University of Padua, or even the newly founded University of Vercelli, as the system is too complex for such small institutions.

1 Freiherr Carl von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, (Heidelberg, Mohr, 1834), vol. 3, p. 669.

Soetermeer cites one particular reason for the emergence of *peciae* in Bologna and not Paris: the existence of professional writers in the vicinity of law schools.² Theological, medical and also texts concerning canon law were plentiful in monastery *scriptoria*. Manuscripts concerning secular law were needed and copied almost exclusively at the law schools, amongst which Bologna was the most important. The fact that there is no earlier evidence from Bologna can be explained by the university's history. In the early beginnings of the University of Bologna, studies were pursued in a number of small autonomous *comitives*. A *comitive* consisted of a teacher and his students. These *comitives* were not connected as far as organisation was concerned; they only shared a common location. An interdisciplinary university administration did not exist, hence there was no occasion nor were there funds to control the book trade. It was only at the end of the twelfth century that universities began to get organised and elect rectors to which all the other members were bound by oath. Nations and faculties were soon established within the university, a development which preceded the emergence of a central university organisation.³ The faculties of theology, law, medicine and arts were responsible for the organisation of day-to-day study and were managed by the elected deans, who exercised supervisory authority over the texts of their respective disciplines and were in charge of inspecting the *peciae*.

Apart from control over students, masters and doctors, the university sought influence over important professional groups. Apart from barbers and chemists, who were close to the medical faculty, these mainly included writers and stationers. The most important sanction, which was also used to govern the book trade, was the *privatio*: the ejection from university and the cancellation of all associated privileges. In the beginning, booksellers were not citizens of the university and could not be ejected. However, the chancellors could threaten those who conducted business with disgraced booksellers with the *privatio*.

Through filiations of the University of Bologna the system spread all over northern Italy. In Padua (founded 1222), Vercelli (1228), Piacenza (1248), Perugia (1308), Treviso (1318), Pisa (1343), Florence (1349) and Pavia (1361) similar or *verbatim* copies of the regulation, established in the contract of Vercelli quoted above, can be found. In Modena the office of the stationer was newly endowed in 1329.⁴

2 Frank Soetermeer, *Utrumque ius in peciis. Die Produktion juristischer Bücher an italienischen und französischen Universitäten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, Klostermann, 2002), p. 41.

3 Jacques Verger, *Les Universités au Moyen Âge* (2nd ed., Paris, PUF, 2007), p. 50.

4 Murano, *Opere*, p. 161.

It is difficult to verify whether these regulations were really implemented, *pecia* loaned and then copied, as the statutes of Bologna were often adopted without alteration and *pecia* manuscripts have no specific indicators to allow for the identification of a city of origin. In general, *pecia* manuscripts can easily be located and dated as they can be attributed to *pecia*-lists by the number of *peciae* they consist of. *Pecia*-lists are registers of texts that were available at a university or from a stationer as *peciae*. These are mostly dated or can be dated indirectly via the titles listed. *Pecia*-lists for Italy, apart from Bologna, are only known for Padua (1331), Florence (1388) and Perugia (1457[!]). Shortly after the renewal of the statutes in 1457, which still contains a *pecia*-list, Perugia removed the office of the *Peciarius* as *peciae* supposedly had not existed for a long time.⁵ Consequently, the *pecia*-list in the statutes of 1457 must be considerably older. The *studium curiae* in Rome and the state university of Naples had no relation to Bologna and seem to have managed without *peciae*.⁶

The assignment of manuscripts to *pecia*-lists has proven to be difficult for Italy. Many writings possess a standardised *pecia* segmentation which is identical at all universities, the reason being that not only were the regulations about the *pecia* system adopted from Bologna but very often also the exemplars.

Apart from the contract of Vercelli, there are no other sources about the *pecia* system in its early stages. The statutes of the University of Bologna concerning the *pecia* system can be traced back to the second half of the thirteenth century – the earliest can be found in a manuscript from the Olomouc city archive containing a *pecia*-list as well as regulations regarding the *pecia* system.⁷

According to Soetermeer the number of *peciae* mentioned on the list for the *apparatus decretalium* allows it to be dated to a few years shortly after 1252. Whether the dating of the *pecia*-list can be transferred to the statutes depends on the extent to which the two texts can be connected palaeographically. Boháček, who edited the list, does not comment on this.⁸

The regulations of the Olomouc manuscript determine that stationers are not permitted to deal in books on their own account and exemplars have to be corrected as a matter of principle.⁹ A passage of this kind can be found in

5 Guido Padelletti, *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia delle università italiane* (Perugia, 1872), p. 71.

6 Walter Rüegg, *Geschichte der Universität in Europa, Mittelalter* (Munich, C.H. Beck, 1993), p. 63.

7 Olomouc, Statni Archiv, C.O.209, fol. 163v.

8 Miroslav Boháček, 'Zur Geschichte der Stationarii von Bologna', *Eos*, 48/2 (1957), p. 248.

9 Murano, *Opere*, p. 70.

nearly every regulation on the book trade at a university. The obligation to have copies corrected before their circulation served qualitative rather than pecuniary reasons. A mistake in the template would be repeated in every copy. As the template would have come from the university system, the mistake might have been regarded as correct in comparison to an accurate manuscript. By prohibiting the trade of antiquarian books for profit, university members were guaranteed quite favourable conditions when purchasing books. The fee granted to the stationer when brokering a book sale ranges from 3.3% for a book priced at three pounds to 0.6% for a manuscript sold at 40 pounds. The stationer is allowed to accept up to ten pounds only when the price exceeds 60 pounds and if the customer so wishes.¹⁰ Any payment beyond this is prohibited.¹¹ However, an exception is made for the *bedellus generalis* who, appointed by the chancellors, runs the *statio* at the university and supervises the *pecia* system.¹²

Stationers are deemed to commit a punishable offence if they change exemplars without the consent of the chancellors. In the case of such a violation, the indirect *privatio* can be put into use. Following the imposition of the *privatio*, every scholar would be prohibited from accepting *peciae* from that offending stationer. However, no such cases have been recorded. Finally, a kind of imprimatur *avant la lettre* is regulated for.¹³ Stationers are only allowed to circulate writings of doctors as *peciae* where the former have explicitly sanctioned this and, furthermore, have authorised a text. This indicates that the use of *peciae* was a putting-out-system in which texts could no longer be revised once in circulation.

In 1264, only a few years after the regulations of Bologna were passed, the University of Padua specified that the salary of the stationer Floriano should be 60 Pounds a year, plus any income he might generate from running the *statio*.¹⁴ The latter cannot be found in the statutes. Although the modalities of payment for *peciae* and used manuscripts take up a lot of space in all recorded statutes, it cannot be assumed that these earnings accrue to the university. Furthermore, the fact that the stationer earns a salary indicates that the *pecia* system could not solely rely on earnings.

The regulations quoted so far referred to the university in general, yet their impact was chiefly on the distribution of legal texts. It is only in 1405, when

10 For comparison: the annual salary of the Paduan exemplator is 60 Pounds. Murano, *Opere*, p. 71.

11 Ibid., p. 70.

12 Ibid., p. 92.

13 Ibid., p. 70.

14 Ibid., p. 71.

peciae could no longer be found at any other university, that a regulation turns up in the statutes of the university of Bologna addressing the needs of the medical faculty. It determines the titles supposed to be available as exemplars. These comprise 22 medical texts ranging from Avicenna to Galen.¹⁵

Furthermore, it sheds some light on the *status quo* in Bologna at the turn of the fifteenth century. *Peciae* must under penalty be publically listed, kept orderly, illuminated and well corrected. The rule that *peciae* have to be kept flawless is a recurrent element in all regulations. It is, however, a rather unique requirement that *peciae* should be illuminated. This demand seems rather rational when it comes to medical works which usually include anatomical and schematic illustrations. One of the last paragraphs indicates that the tone of exchanges between stationers and scholars could be quite harsh as it explicitly forbids stationers from insulting scholars.¹⁶

In Bologna numerous contracts on the copying of books were conducted in the presence of a notary. Many of these are documented in the university's cartulary *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis*.¹⁷ The 254 contracts, which were negotiated between 1265 and 1330, mainly concern legal manuscripts.¹⁸ Decretals (67) and digests (59) were commissioned most frequently.¹⁹ However, apart from a manuscript of Galen and another of Avicenna, no medical works are listed. Even theological works are rarely recorded in comparison to legal works: only 14 manuscripts of the bible were commissioned. One antiphonal and one missal indicate that the book trade in Bologna did not only supply the university. The setup of the contracts is standardised: in every case, the names of the contracting parties, the commissioned work, the fixed price, the names of the witnesses and the notary are listed as well as the date. In several cases, a time frame and the quality of the manuscript are also recorded.²⁰ The quality is usually described by referring to another work of the scribe, although it cannot be inferred from most contracts as to whether they refer to conventionally copied manuscripts or manuscripts from *peciae*.²¹ If one assumes that all parties are members of the university, then one also suggests that the

15 Ibid., pp. 159–160.

16 Ibid., p. 160.

17 Guido Zaccagnini, *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis* (Bologna 1927), vol. 8.

18 Luciana Devoti, 'Aspetti della Produzione del Libro a Bologna: Il Prezzo di Copia del Manoscritto Giuridico tra XIII e XIV Secolo', in Caterina Tristano & Francesca Cenni (eds.), *Liber–Libra. Il mercato del libro manoscritto del medioevo italiano* (Rome, Jouvence, 2005), p. 113.

19 Devoti, 'Produzione del Libro', p. 137.

20 Zaccagnini, *Chartularium*, p. DXCVI.

21 Ibid., p. VII.

templates are *peciae*, as long as the texts concerned are recorded on lists of taxation. In some of the contracts the fee is calculated per *quaternus*.²² A *quaternus* is a quire of four *folii*, but in the case of the statutes of Bologna, *pecia* and *quaternus* are used as interchangeable units of measurement. A *quaternus* is equivalent to two *peciae*. It is likely that payment per double *pecia* was agreed upon and not per physical quire of four pages.

In order to assess which works were copied by means of *pecia*, the *pecia*-lists, which are fairly reliable and accessible sources, can be consulted. These lists had been used as maculation or were added to the statutes of the university as part of an official evaluation of the exemplars. By far not all *pecia*-lists have survived and not all of those are complete in terms of the information they provide, yet nonetheless they give an insight on the nature of the texts which were copied by applying the *pecia* system. The oldest recorded list of Italian *peciae* is probably the one retained in Olomouc from shortly after 1252.²³ It has the same structure that was applied to almost all such lists. An entry includes an often radically abbreviated title, the number of *peciae* and the fee one had to pay for borrowing a text. The Olomouc list includes 48 titles (most of them legal works, although 15 of them were on canon law). This supports Soetermeer's assumption that Bologna was the origin of the *pecia* system because of its legal focus. Boháček argues that the list could have been compiled by a stationer who had specialised in law.²⁴ If the list of *peciae* and the Bolognese statutes actually do form the pair that we assume they do, then it is an official taxation list which registers all available *peciae* and not only those of a specialised stationer.

No other Italian *pecia*-list pre-dating the table mentioned has survived. It is only from the fourteenth century that a number of taxation lists are extant. The oldest is the one that was in use from 1317 to 1347 almost without change, containing 121 titles and thereby doubling the extent of the list from 1252. It still, however, contains only legal works.

The assumption in Italy that almost only legal works were copied by means of *pecia* is supported by the *pecia*-list from Padua in 1331.²⁵ This list includes 115 exclusively juridical titles. The same is the case with the *pecia*-list of Florence from 1388 which included 106 titles.²⁶ The Perugian *pecia*-list from 1457, which

²² Ibid., p. CCLIV.

²³ Olomouc, Statni Archiv, C.O.209, fol. 163v.

²⁴ Boháček: 'Stationarij', p. 320.

²⁵ Murano, *Opere*, pp. 136–139.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 151–153.

it can be sagely assumed was created earlier, also contains 113 titles of both laws, but not a single medical or theological work.²⁷

The only list without any reference to legal works is the aforementioned register which indentifies the medical books that have to be kept in storage as exemplars. However, there are philosophical and theological *pecia*-manuscripts of Italian provenance, even though the majority of the surviving manuscripts comprise legal works. It can only be assumed that taxation lists were also kept for philosophical and theological *peciae* but that these have not been passed down.

France

The majority of the identified *pecia* manuscripts are of French origin, partially because the seminal figure of *pecia*-research, Jean Destrez, focused his studies on France and especially on Paris.²⁸ While his (and thus our) image may be rather distorted by that, Paris still was one of the major centres of book production in late medieval Europe.²⁹

It remains unclear as to when a *pecia* system was established in Paris. Destrez claims to have found the first record of a *pecia* system when reading Roger Bacon. In his *Opus minus* from 1266/7 Bacon decries the state of the Parisian book trade, during his time in Paris *circa* 40 years previously: “illiterati et uxorati” stationers offering bad exemplars and thereby corrupting the tradition of the text.³⁰ When dating Bacon’s complaint, Destrez reconstructs the years 1226/27 as a point in time when the *pecia* system was introduced.³¹ Light objects, with good reason, that Bacon’s statement cannot be taken literally as he calculates in round decades.³² When taking that into account, Bacon’s comment could refer to the period from 1220 to 1230. Only in 1275 does an entry appear in the university cartulary. This specific record focuses on the book trade at the university. It regulates the details of the *pecia* system and which sanctions to impose in case of non-observance.³³ A time lag between the initial establishment of a *pecia* system and the origin of the corresponding university statutes is possible, but it is unlikely to span 50 years.

27 Ibid., pp. 162–165.

28 Guy Fink-Errera, ‘Jean Destrez et son œuvre’, *Scriptorium*, 11 (1957), pp. 264.

29 Destrez, *Pecia*, p. 25.

30 Roger Bacon, *Opus Minus*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London, Longman, 1859), p. 333.

31 Destrez, *Pecia*, p. 26.

32 Light Laura, ‘Roger Bacon and the origin of the Paris Bible’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 111/3–4 (2001), pp. 483–507.

33 Denifle, *Chartularium*, nr. 462.

The general question arises as to whether Bacon is actually referring to the *pecia* system. This depends on his definition of *exemplar*, as the term is not a set phrase which can only be applied to *peciae*, but can also refer to 'template' in general. Bacon's preferred meaning cannot be extrapolated from the text. Consequently this means that his works cannot be relied on when trying to determine the exact time frame for the *pecia* system. Although the existence of the *illiterati et uxorati*, i.e. married lay scribes, can be documented earlier, they seem to have gained enough influence in the 1220s to draw the ire of Roger Bacon. Yet, the existence of commercial book sellers does not prove the use of *peciae*. Even though Destrez and the Rouses were aware of this fact, they still assume that Bacon refers to *peciae*.³⁴ One reason for this assumption may be that Destrez claims to know a sound proof for the existence of an extensive *pecia* system in Paris in the middle of the century: the so called 'Parisian *pecia*-list of 1248'. This list can be found on the last page of the manuscript University Library Uppsala C 134 (see Fig. 16.1.). Destrez based his age determination – a fact which has been accepted without discussion – on the provenance note at the top of the page: "Liber fratrum predicatorum Sictonie quem contulit eis felicis recordacionis dominus thomas episcopus finlandensis".³⁵ Destrez deduces that everything which had been written on this page can be dated back to the lifetime of Bishop Thomas of Finland. Thomas died in 1248, three years after he had resigned as bishop. He bequeathed his books to the recently founded Dominican convent of Sigtuna.

This record of property names Thomas Bishop of Finland and can thereby be safely dated to a time frame before 1248. It was written by a hand that cannot be found again on this page. The same hand wrote an almost identical record of property on the front endpaper of the manuscript, extended by an *anathema*. There is no proof that Thomas wore the *pallium*, but he probably was the first bishop of Finland, making him archbishop in the literal sense of the word. A list of the 12 prophets was added by a different hand with a light ink in the middle of the page. The *pecia*-list can be found at the bottom of the page. It starts with a financial statement which cannot be assigned to a specific title. The list can however be localised by the currency unit, the Parisian pound. 18 titles, including information on the number of *peciae* follow in consecutive order, some of them indicating their price. Whether a number indicates the price or the number of *peciae* cannot be determined from the context in all

34 Richard Rouse & Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their makers. Commercial book producers in medieval Paris 1200–1500, illiterati et uxorati* (Turnhout, Harvey Miller, 2000), pp. 32–33.

35 Destrez, *La Pecia*, p. 24.

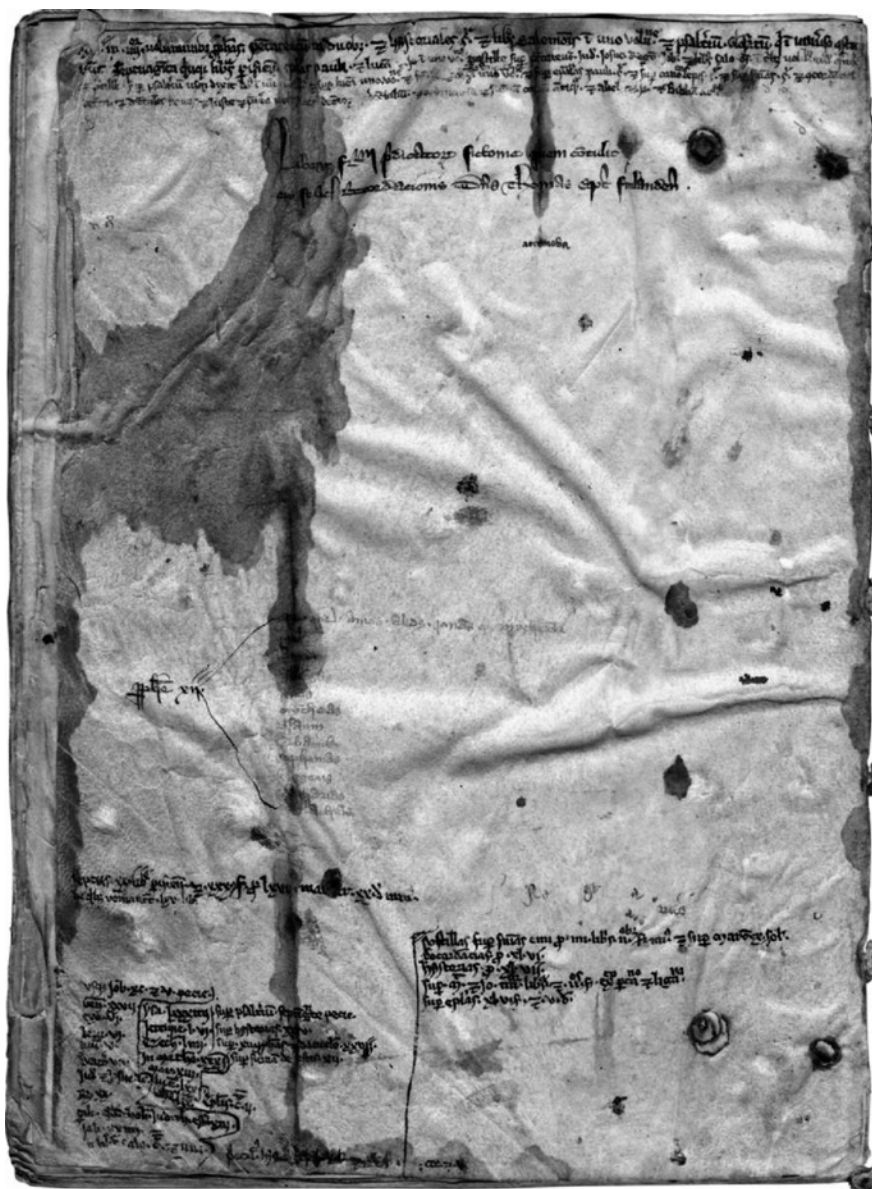


FIGURE 16.1 'Parisian pecia-list of 1248'

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY UPPSALA C 134, FOL 161V

cases. The fact that the list exclusively contains books of the bible and theological works suggests that it is the receipt of a theologian.

Destrez assumes Thomas to be that theologian. The fact that this book was bequeathed to the library of the Dominicans in Sigtuna by Thomas and was forwarded to the university library of Uppsala does support his hypothesis. In some cases, however, books were borrowed from the monastic library for university studies and then returned to the library. It is not unlikely that a monk took the manuscript with him when studying at the Sorbonne. The list would then have been a record of his purchases for the convent. This can be deduced from the financial statement at the beginning of the document and from the sums of money which are recorded on the list. This argument is supported by the text of the manuscript, Hugos of St. Cher's *In Historiam Scholasticam*, a standard text for the medieval student. The 20 manuscripts, which can actually be ascribed to Sigtuna, record three monks from Sigtuna who studied in Paris: Laurentius, who stayed in Paris in the 1280s as well as Carolus and Israel Erlandi who, according to the list, both left books purchased before 1294 and 1296 to the monastery.³⁶ Monks from Sigtuna studying in Paris do not seem to be unusual. Unfortunately, none of the titles on the inventory list can be verified as belonging to Sigtuna.

The contents of the list give us a *terminus post quem*: the entry "decretales novas" above the record of property in line four refers to the editorial work of the decretal collection of Gregor IX dated to 1234.³⁷ A *terminus ante quem* is not listed, thus this document is only of limited value when dating the *pecia* system of Paris.

Pollard refers to a manuscript of French origin, retained in Durham, which has gained importance considering the problematic age determination of Uppsala C 134.³⁸ From a palaeographic point of view, Durham Cathedral and Chapter Library Ms. A.I. 16 is likely to be a manuscript of French origin. It includes a comment by Hugo of St. Cher on Paul's Epistles and shows regular *pecia* marks. Prior Betram of Middleton, who died in 1258, bequeathed this manuscript to the cathedral of Durham, so it is possible to determine the existence of a *pecia*-system in Paris before 1258.

The act of the *Universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, dating back to 8 December 1275, is the first source that gives insight into the workings of

36 UB Uppsala C 18, fol. 198v.

37 Murano, *Opere*, p. 57.

38 Graham Pollard, 'The *pecia* system in the medieval universities', in M.B. Parkes & A.G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval scribes, manuscripts, and libraries. Essays presented to Neil Ripley Ker* (London, Scholar Press, 1978), pp. 145–161.

a *pecia* system in Paris. It was passed by a full meeting of the university held at the chapter house at the Dominican Abbey of St. Victor.³⁹ After a complaint about the damage the booksellers inflicted on the university due to their pursuit of profit, book traders were to take a biennial oath, pledging not to commit fraud and/or sell books for their own profit, but to sell books on commission and to bill the vendor “bona fide”. Their commission was not supposed to be higher than 1.7% of the price. The commission was to be paid only to the vendor. Stationers had to offer their “vera et correcta” exemplars at fair and reasonable prices. The price range was set by the university. This procedure indicates that the university did not exactly trust the stationers’ sense of justice.

In contrast to Bologna, acceptance of all regulations was part of an oath of allegiance in Paris and the breaking of this oath was punishable with privation on principle. It is not clear whether the stationers renewed their oath every two years as the university demanded in 1275. The oath is not recorded in the cartularies until 1302, when there were additions to it: namely if the vendor of a book is not a member of the university, the stationer’s commission may be 2.5%. Additionally, every stationer was obliged to post a list containing all exemplars available at his shop, the number of *peciae* they consisted of and their price. Those lists were not meant for the information of the customers, but to allow for public documentation of the official prices that could be controlled by the university.

An uneasy relationship between the two parties can in general be drawn from the wording of the oaths. *Stationarii* are called “criminals” and repeatedly reminded to conduct business “sine fraude”.⁴⁰ The stationers were members of the university and thus subject to its jurisdiction and taxing authority which was an advantage as the university taxed less than the city of Paris. It could also grant other privileges. In 1368 the Sorbonne managed to have 55 of its *serviteurs* relieved from guard duty for King Charles V. The beneficiaries were listed by name and professions. All of them worked in the book trade: “libraires, escrivains, enlumineurs, relieurs de livres” and “parcheminiers”.⁴¹ The privileges granted to the servants also reinforced the threat of *privatio* made by the university.

Still, Paris is the only university for which an open conflict with the stationers has been recorded. At the beginning of June 1316, a group of 22 stationers refused to swear a new oath to the university, the exact wording of which

39 Archive Nationale de France, M. 68. No. 1.

40 Denifle, *Chartularium*, nr. 462.

41 Paul Delalain, *Étude sur le libraire parisien du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris, Delalain, 1891), p. 213.

we do not know. The university did not hesitate and expelled the 22 recorded stationers on 12 June.⁴² The oath which the stationers had to take to be readmitted to the university in September of the same year has been recorded.⁴³ There is a rather significant difference to be noticed when comparing the oaths, despite the hints that the university readmitted the disloyal "libraires" out of sheer generosity. From the beginning of September 1316, the assessment of *peciae*, which specify the charges made by a stationer, was not to be made by delegates of the rector but by a panel of four stationers – the so-called "peciarrii". The taxation lists – passed down in French from that point in time – designate these as "libraires principaux". This kind of administration is remarkable. The stationers now resembled a guild.

All works listed in the Parisian records of *peciae* are the foundation of university teaching. Three major groups can be found on the *pecia*-lists: theological, philosophical and legal texts. It is particularly noticeable that the lists do not include even a single medical work.

The scholarly focus of the University of Paris was on theology. The oldest Parisian List, commonly referred to as the one "from 1248", records 27 exclusively theological works.⁴⁴ The next list from 1275, passed down in the statutes of the university, shows an increasing volume of works available as *peciae*, now 138, but also a contentual expansion.⁴⁵ It lists 25 legal manuscripts.⁴⁶

The list of 1304, which describes the stock of stationer André de Sens, itemises the individual areas.⁴⁷ The list, which records 156 titles, starts with a general section including commentaries on the bible, textbooks and polemical papers, succeeded by a section on theological works, which is then followed by one on canon law and philosophy. Once again medical works are not recorded in this list. Only 18 legal works are registered, which are, however, more extensive than the philosophical and theological works. The fact that only canon law was taught in Paris may have contributed to the smaller percentage of legal texts.⁴⁸

The *pecia* system in its Parisian variety spread all over France with the foundation of new branches of the University of Paris in Angers, Toulouse and Cahors. The statutes of these institutions copy those of the Sorbonne in all

42 Denifle, *Chartularium*, nr. 724.

43 Ibid., nr. 733.

44 UB Uppsala C134, fol. 161v.

45 Denifle, *Chartularium*, nr. 530.

46 After the Papal damnation of 1219 only canon law was taught at the Sorbonne.

47 Denifle, *Chartularium*, nr. 642.

48 Verger, *Les Universités*.

cases. There is no direct evidence as to whether and to what extent they were in fact implemented. One issue is the fact that there is no palaeographic difference between a manuscript from Paris and one from Cahors. Even though *pecia*-manuscripts from Parisian filiations do exist, they are not recognisable as such if they do not show direct evidence of their provenance. If ascribing a manuscript to the *studium parisiense* solely on the basis of palaeography, then the adjoining universities in northern France have to be taken into account.

Both the University of Montpellier and the *studium curiae* in Avignon are special cases. Montpellier was already a famous medical school in the twelfth century. The medical faculty kept its dominating role – its statutes determined the entire university organisation – even after the university was granted the rank of a *studium generale* by Pope Nicholas IV in 1289. Apparently, Montpellier never used a *pecia* system, nor did the *studium curiae* in Avignon. Orleans, which was considered an important academic centre in the early years of the Sorbonne, also did not use a *pecia* system. This fact is even more remarkable when one considers the fact that Orleans was the most important school of law in northern France and that the Bolognese *pecia* system originated from its law school.⁴⁹

England

The only evidence of a *pecia* system in England can be found at Oxford University, where there are contradictory sources. On the one hand, Pollard verifies seven carriers of the occupational title “exemplarius” between before 1238 and 1341/44 in the almost completely recorded cadastres, on the other hand *peciae* are only mentioned once in the statutes of the university.⁵⁰

Pollard justifies his date determination of 1238 with reference to the fact that the parchment manufacturer Adam de Walton undertook a deal registered in the cadastre of 1258 concerning a boundary wall of his property located in Cat Street. In this record, Adam de Walton's property is described as the one which formerly used to be in the possession of the Exemplator Galfridus. He, however, is already mentioned in 1238 in an investigation file as the parchment manufacturer from Cat Street. This fact prompts Pollard to draw the conclusion that Galfridus, who is not mentioned elsewhere, was Exemplator before 1238. Those involved in the book trade often settled in communities close to their customers. In Oxford, these communities were located in the area of High Street, North

49 Orleans taught civil law after 1235, Paris was banned from this in 1219. Verger, *Les Universités*.

50 Graham Pollard, ‘The university and the booktrade in medieval Oxford’, in Paul Wilpert (ed.), *Beiträge zum Berufsbewusstsein des mittelalterlichen Menschen* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1964), p. 338.

Side and Cat Street West Side. There is a possibility that Adam de Walton lived on Cat Street in 1238 without living on the estate he would own 20 years later.

The existence of the exemplators Willelmus and Rogerius has been documented since 1240 and 1242 respectively. Even before his acquisition of land in 1246, Rogerius can be identified as a debtor of the Jew, Isaac le Frauncey, in 1242.⁵¹ One can therefore safely assume that exemplators were in existence in Oxford from the 1240s until 1341. That means that Oxford University had an employee during that time, who was in charge of supervising the quality of templates, and who possibly produced copies. The Oxford exemplators had other functions apart from the book trade, for instance as pawnbrokers.⁵² Their official title, however, only leads to the conclusion that originally they primarily produced exemplars.

A record in the university statutes regulating the obligations of an *Exemplarius* and giving an indication of how the *pecia* system was organised in Oxford cannot be found until 1339. The following entry is the first to have survived:

Item quod Stationerii et alii quicumque, qui Exemplaria librorum locant, teneantur, sub pena amissionis eorundem aut sub pena graviore per universitatem taxanda, integra, completa, correcta, ac fidelia exhibere.⁵³

This regulation is closely related to those of Paris (1275) and Bologna (1288) although it is not a literal copy. It cannot be assumed that this would be the first such regulation in Oxford. The book trade must have been regulated within the 100 years between the first proven appointment of an exemplator and the record in the statutes. As the statutes of Oxford University have only survived fragmentarily, it can be assumed that those regulations are simply lost.

Just as it is the case with the first relevant statute, evidence of a *Cista Exemplarium* administered by the proctors of the university stems only from the fourteenth century. The first proof is the reference in a report about a handing-over of office in 1338 in which it is mentioned alongside references to the university seal, money and objects of value. The *Cista Exemplarium* is mentioned for a second time in 1347, when it was assigned a new use – three years after the death of the last known exemplator.⁵⁴ What exactly did this

⁵¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Twyne Ms. xxiii, S. 223.

⁵² Pollard, 'The university', p. 338.

⁵³ Strickland Gibson (ed.), *Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 186.

⁵⁴ Gibson, *Statuta*, p. 149.

chest contain? Probably not exemplars in the sense of sets of circulatory *peciae*. The renting of *peciae* from a chest by a proctor seems unlikely. It can be assumed that, in this case, the templates for the production and correction of the *peciae* were retained by exemplators.

Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury and adversary of the Lollards, writes in 1409, in the course of his measures to fight the ideas of John Wycliffe at the university, that the stationers shall produce copies of the official version of texts contained in the “*Cista exemplariorum*” and sell these.⁵⁵ The supervisory authority of the *Cista Exemplariorum* had survived and been transformed from a device for the protection of text quality to one for censorship.

Pecia-lists from Oxford have not been recorded. Pollard counts 11 manuscripts with *peciae* marks from the stocks of the English libraries. Among them not a single manuscript can be found which could be assigned to Oxford. The only manuscript Pollard assumes he can localise in Oxford is Durham Cathedral Library A.I.16.

Without the *pecia*-lists, little can be said about the texts reproduced by the Oxford *pecia* system. Pollard assumed that primarily theological and legal writings were copied by means of *pecia*.⁵⁶ Oxford's medical faculty was small and could not have sustained the efforts associated with a *pecia* system. There were numerous students of the arts, yet they were not obliged to own their books. Furthermore, the lectures of the arts faculty in Oxford were based on dictations with the result that texts could be noted down during lectures.⁵⁷ In contrast to the arts students, the law students had to swear upon matriculation that they owned copies of the *Digestum novus*, the *Infortiatum* and the *Libellus Institutionum*.⁵⁸ Here a demand for the stipulated texts would have to be expected which might have been met by a *pecia* system. It has not been recorded that Oxford students of theology were to own specific works.

Spain

During the reign of Alfonso the Wise the first collection of civil Spanish law, known today as *Siete Partidas*, was established between 1255 and 1265.⁵⁹ The *Partida Segunda* contains laws on the organisation of universities, including a statute about *peciae*. It is the only state law dealing with *peciae* and is not limited to one university but refers to Spanish universities in general.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 212.

⁵⁶ Pollard, ‘The university’, p. 344.

⁵⁷ Pollard, ‘The university’, p. 343.

⁵⁸ Gibson, *Statuta*, nr. 43.

⁵⁹ José Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal (ed.), *Las Siete Partidas* (Madrid, Reus, 2004), p. XV.

This law allows for the assumption that the Spanish *pecia* system existed simultaneously alongside the French and Italian systems. According to Murano the Spanish national library accommodates 11 and the university library of Salamanca six *pecia* manuscripts.⁶⁰ Some of them are covered by Destrez and are of French origin. Yet, as the *pecia* system in Spain has hardly been researched, it is indeed imaginable that Spanish libraries hold further *pecia* manuscripts which have not to date been identified. The only available sources are the regulations and the corresponding law from *Siete Partidas*. The *studia generalia* hence were supposed to employ stationers who would be able to produce legible and well-written exemplars. These exemplars were then to serve in the production of new manuscripts as well as in the correction of others. The chancellor or his commissioner was to test the exemplars for legibility and accuracy before they were to be used and to ensure that faulty exemplars were corrected. Moreover, the chancellor was obliged to fix the prices which a stationer was to charge for lending out a *pecia* for the purposes of having it copied or corrected. Furthermore, the chancellor was obliged to appoint bailsmen who were to guarantee that stationers did not betray him during the trade in books.⁶¹

Given its date of institution, the law can only refer to the universities of Salamanca (founded in 1218), Valladolid (before 1241) and Valencia (1245).⁶² In 1254 Alfonso the Wise created the position of a stationer as part of the conferment of privileges to the university of Salamanca, among others the *licentia ubique docendi*: "Otrorsi mando e tengo por bien que ayan un estaçionario e yo que le dé dosientos maravedis cada año e él que tenga todos los Exemplarios buenos e correttos".⁶³ The elaboration of the duties of the stationers is brief and is similar to the passage in the *Siete Partidas*. The statutes of the University of Salamanca do not offer any further regulations on how the stationer has to conduct his business, probably because this was already regulated in the *Siete Partidas*.⁶⁴

With regard to newly established universities, Christ refers to the University of Lérida founded in 1300.⁶⁵ This university had a general stationer corresponding to the Italian exemplator. He was remunerated by the university and

60 Murano, *Opere*.

61 Sanchez-Arcilla Bernal, *Siete Partidas*, p. 367.

62 Verger, *Les universités*, p. 114.

63 Murano, *Opere*, p. 67.

64 Vicente de Beltrán Heredia (ed.), *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1885).

65 Karl Christ, 'Petia, Ein Kapitel mittelalterlicher Buchgeschichte', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 55 (1938), p. 32.

commissioned to supervise the other stationers. Apart from monitoring the quality of *peciae* and the compliance with the prescribed prices, the trade in used books, for which stationers received a mere commission, were his responsibility. Stationers were not allowed any trade for their own profit. Every three years the chancellor charged four legal experts with the inspection of the legal *peciae*.⁶⁶ It is noticeable that non-legal *peciae* were exempted from inspection. The chancellor imposed a fine in the event of an infringement of these terms. It can be assumed that privation, which was often threatened at other universities, was also possible in Lérida, although it is not mentioned in relation to the book trade. Admittedly, having to pay 20 solidi in cases of inordinate pricing was not a negligible punishment. As is the case with all Spanish universities, in Lérida statutes for the *pecia* system are extant but no corresponding manuscripts are known of. It cannot be ruled out that the statutes were adopted blindly in this case without actually putting the regulations into use.

The University of Perpignan (founded in 1350) is a filiation of Lérida and adopted its statutes along with the regulation of the *pecia* system. There is evidence to show that in Perpignan copies were actually made according to *peciae*: in the marginal note of the statutes, ten exemplars of the works of canon law have been taxed. Fournier dates these texts to the years between 1380 and 1390.⁶⁷

Comparison

Bologna is the origin of the *pecia* system and the Bolognese statutes can be found all over Europe. At the *studium parisiense*, *peciae* were also in use, yet the Parisian statutes stand alone. The French interpretation of the *pecia* system differed from the Italian mainly due to the fact that the stationers were not remunerated by the university but worked on their own account. Hence, a relatively free book trade was created which in turn was bound to the university by strictly formulated oaths of allegiance. The sources suggest that the *pecia* systems in Italy and Spain were established and organised by the university, whereas the system in Paris was established without the initial participation of the university. It is apparent that the subject-specific focus of the universities found expression in the exemplars available. In France, primarily works of theology and philosophy were provided by means of *peciae* to university members and students. In Italy, however, mainly works of law and later medicine were provided.

66 J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1951), p. 225.

67 Marcel Fournier (ed.), *Les statuts et privilèges des Universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789* (Paris, Larose et Forcel, 1890), nr. 672.

The Spanish statutes concerning *peciae* are copied word-for-word from Italian statutes. An explanation of this phenomenon could be that the *Siete Partidas* were probably composed by a group of legal experts in the service of Alfonso the Wise.⁶⁸ As Bologna was the most important legal school of the Middle Ages, it can be assumed that at least one Bolognese graduate who was acquainted with the system also participated in the composition of the laws.

The Oxford *pecia* system is still a riddle. There seems to have been a succession of *exemplatores* for more than a century yet we hardly know of any manuscripts produced by the Oxford *pecia* system.

The Disappearance of the *Pecia* System

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the *pecia* system disappeared. Yet it was not officially abolished by any university or substituted with something different. However, there are no new regulations and no manuscripts with *pecia* marks which can be dated with certainty to the period after 1370. Rouse and Rouse depict the dissolution of the social structures in the middle of the century in their survey of the Parisian book sellers.⁶⁹ They argue that the beginning of the Hundred Years' War in 1337 and the consequent loss of the English students as customers, as well as the plague, which decimated the population of Paris by a third, were responsible. The consequential decrease of the market supposedly induced the fact that prior to the emergence of the printing press the demand for new manuscripts in Paris also decreased from 1350 to 1470.

It is yet unclear why the *pecia* system did not recover from the plague as was the case with other industries and how the university could still be supplied with texts taking into account the fact that student numbers did not decrease at all. Even the Hundred Years' War seems insufficient reason for the disappearance of the *pecia* system all over Europe.

A different explanation is based on the rise of student numbers in the fourteenth century. In order to sustain itself, the *pecia* system, being a professional and structured principle of production, required that writing skills were a rare occurrence. With large numbers of students, who were in competition with professional scribes to finance their university studies, this was no longer the case. Given this increase in the number of scribes, it may have become

68 Paloma Cuenca Muñoz, 'El libro en el Siglo XIII: La Pecia', in A. Riesco Terrero (ed.), *I Jornadas sobre Documentación jurídico-administrativa, económico-financiera y judicial del reino castellanoleonés* (Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2002), pp. 231–245.

69 Richard & Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their makers*, p. 96.

impossible to use the *pecia* system because the new scribes were not craftsmen approved by the university and consequently were not permitted to take part in the *pecia* system. Without the organisational core of the university, the *pecia* system did not seem to be in a position to succeed.

Conclusion: The Purpose of *Pecia* Systems

A *pecia* system would certainly not have been necessary solely for the quick reproduction of texts. The so-called *pronuntiatio*, an organised form of dictation, practiced at German universities fulfilled this assignment just as well and with a lower financial and administrative burden. Although a correct template was also needed for the *pronuntiatio*, it did not require a special layout. An advantage of the *pecia* system is the fact that the writer had an officially certified text physically in front of him and was thus able to synchronise his copy with the text, which obviously was not possible with a dictation. This indicates that it was the purpose of the *pecia* system to circulate the textual version approved by the university. This supervision of the quality of text is not to be understood as censorship. An obvious occasion for an intervention of the university regarding the book trade would have been the Conviction of 1277 which prohibited a vast number of theorems for the Parisian university in order to prevent the intrusion of Aristotelianism.⁷⁰ In comparison with the list of 1275, the one of 1304 indicates that no Aristotelian works were withdrawn.

While one can see some characteristics of commercial publishing in the *pecia* system, chiefly the efficient division of labour and the availability of 'published' texts to an albeit limited public, it cannot be described as a commercially viable system as it apparently had to be subsidised by the universities. One can consequently assume that neither censorship nor profit but the distribution of correct texts was the main purpose of the *pecia* system.

70 Peter Grabher, *Die Pariser Verurteilung von 1277* (Wien, Universität Wien, 2005).

Profit, Patronage and the Cultural Politics of Music Printing in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Family and Finances of Giuseppe Antonio Silvani

Huub van der Linden

Because of the relatively small and highly specialised market they served and the particular type that they required, early modern music printers faced formidable challenges.¹ Like other printers serving a niche market, they had to cope with the particular problems that their specialisation entailed above and beyond the general concerns all early modern printers had. At the same time, however, we ought not to lose sight of the fact that specialist printers were never *only* printers. They lived lives beyond the print shop that were, socially and economically, inextricably linked to their businesses. Hence, “books alone should not continue to dominate our assessments of their publishers’ careers”.² One of the tasks ahead is simultaneously to keep both ‘specialist’ and general concerns in sight, and possibly draw connections between them. By looking at the Bolognese composer and music printer Giuseppe Antonio Silvani (1672–1726) and his short-lived business partnership with the amateur composer count Pirro Capacelli Albergati (1663–1735), this chapter will attempt to do this by exploring how issues of kinship and patronage interacted with the economic and cultural problems of printing music in early eighteenth-century Italy.

Giuseppe Antonio was born in 1672 as the (apparently second) son of the music publisher Marino Silvani and Elisabetta Monti, herself the daughter of the (music) printer Giacomo Monti, with whom Marino had collaborated since 1667.³ In 1696 Marino and Elisabetta bought for over £1,600 the back

I use the following abbreviations: ASB = Archivio di Stato di Bologna; AFSP = Bologna, Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio; AGAB, PS = Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna, Parrocchie soppresse; SMM = Bologna, Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore.

- 1 See the considerations in Stanley Boorman, ‘Early music printing. Working for a specialised market’, in G. Tyson and S. Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and culture in the Renaissance* (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1986), pp. 222–245.
- 2 Peter McCullough, ‘Print, publication and religious politics in Caroline England’, *The Historical Journal*, 51/2 (2008), pp. 285–313; p. 286.
- 3 On Giacomo Monti and his family see Roberto Marchi’s article in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (freely accessible at www.treccani.it/biografie), and Barbara Cipollone, ‘I Monti e la stampa della musica a Bologna nel secondo Seicento’, *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 15 (2010),

catalogue and type from the printer Carlo Maria Fagnani.⁴ That year parish records list the couple living together with their three sons “Gioseffo Antonio”, Paolo Vincenzo (born circa 1675) and Carlo Gaetano (born circa 1679).⁵ The next year Paolo Vincenzo had graduated and he appeared, married to Maria Camilla Cavallini, in a separate household in the same building as his parents. In 1698 the couple’s first son Luigi was born, and the young family had also taken in Flaminia Monti, the Silvani brothers’ widowed aunt: a further indication of the bond between the two families.⁶ In 1700 Paolo and his wife also had a daughter, while Flaminia Monti and her servant now lived with Marino Silvani. However, after Elisabetta Silvani Monti died on 30 November 1701, Flaminia left.⁷ In 1702 Paolo and Maria Camilla’s second daughter appears in the parish records, and they later had at least one further son, Antonio. Certainly by this time Giuseppe Antonio Silvani had become *maestro di cappella* at the basilica of S. Stefano.⁸

Around 1703 Marino’s family – comprising his new wife Anna Maria Melucci, his sons Giuseppe and Carlo and his grandchild Luigi – moved to the Palazzo Paselli in the parish of S. Maria Maggiore, where they are first listed in the records in 1704. They then moved house within the parish in 1706, where they

pp. 61–139. On Marino Silvani see the new information in Giulia Giovani, “Un capitale vivo e morto ad uso di stamparia”. Nuovi documenti sull’editoria musicale bolognese del Seicento’, *Miscellanea Ruspoli*, 1 (2011), pp. 7–76, who on p. 21 cites one “Giacomo Antonio” born to the couple in 1669, who appears not to be otherwise known.

4 On this transaction see Giovani, “Un capitale”, pp. 22–25. In 1698 Silvani had paid £1,000. In 1705 the transaction was completed.

5 AGAB, PS 13/8 (ss. Fabiano e Sebastiano), nr. 7, *ad annum* 1696, in the Via di San Prospero: “Sig.^r Marino del *quondam* Antonio Silvani d’anni 44 | sig.^{ra} Elisabetta Maria del *quondam* Giacomo Monti sua consorte d’anni 50 | Gioseff’Antonio d’anni 24 | Paolo Vincenzo d’anni 21 | Carlo Gaetano d’anni 17 loro figli | Giulia del *quondam* Pellegrino Calegari serva d’anni 60”, in a “casa del sig. dottore Bonomi”.

6 Ibid., *ad annum* 1697, directly beneath Marino Silvani’s family: “sig.^r dottore Paulo Vincenzo del sig.^r Marino Silvani d’anni 22 | Sig.^{ra} Maria Camilla di Dionisio Cavallina sua consorte d’anni 24”. See *ibid.*, *ad annum* 1698 for the added names of “Luigi Antonio loro figlio infante | Flaminia del *quondam* Giacomo Monti vedova anni 60 | Tomasa di Ambrosio Papi d’anni 42”.

7 AGAB, PS 13/5, nr. 4, *Paroch. ss. Fab.ⁿⁱ et Sebast.ⁿⁱ pro describendis mortuis liber quartus*, f. 45v: “Domina Helisabeth Maria *quondam* Domini Jacobi de Monti, ac uxor Domini Marini de Silvani, annurum [sic] 56 in *Comunione Sanctae Matris Ecclesie* die 30 novembris [1701] subito accidente cor rupta, animam deo reddidit in domo de Bonomis, posita in via S. Prosperi”.

8 Giuseppe Silvani, *Litanie concertate à 4 voci consecrate al gloriosissimo padre S. Filippo Neri da Giuseppe Antonio Silvani maestro di capella nella basilica di S. Stefano in Bologna; opera prima* (Bologna, Marino Silvani, 1702).

stayed only until 1707.⁹ Like other booksellers, Marino Silvani rented one of the shops at the Piazza del Pavaglione, underneath the portico of the university building (*le scuole*), from the vestry-board of the civic basilica of S. Petronio.¹⁰ A contract from 1704 documents the rental of a shop for £30 a year, and a year later another contract shows his move to a “shop with an upstairs room underneath the portico of the university” at £75 a year. A renewal of this contract on 7 June 1709 for another three years shows that he stayed there until his death on 24 November 1710.¹¹ In 1711 the imprint “by the heirs of Silvani” appears, including Giuseppe Silvani’s *Motetti a otto voci* “from my press”.¹² Incidentally, around this time the ten-year extension of Marino’s *privilegio* expired. While no renewal is known, Giuseppe and his brothers continued to cite it on their editions.¹³

Although the continued publishing activities of Marino’s heirs suggest the transition from father to sons initially went smoothly, changes were afoot. Giuseppe, who appears previously to have taken Holy Orders, in 1713 decided

- 9 They no longer appear in AGAB, PS 13/8 (ss. Fabiano e Sebastiano), nr. 7, *ad annum* 1703 (Monday after Easter, 9 April). They first reappear in SMM, unfoliated *status animarum*, *ad annum* 1704: “Sig.^r Marino Silvani | Sig.^{ra} Anna Maria Melucci | Sig.^r D. Gioseppe | Sig.^r Carlo suoi figli | Sig.^r Luigi | Giovanna Guidi serva”. A year later the record specified the boy as “Luigi suo nepote anni 7”.
- 10 See on the basilica’s real estate Rolando Dondarini, ‘Le proprietà immobiliari della fabbrica di San Petronio’, in *Una basilica per una città. Sei secoli in San Petronio* (Bologna, Istituto per la Storia della Chiesa di Bologna, 1994), pp. 137–147.
- 11 The contracts are at AFSP, 461 nr. 6, *Scritti di locazioni dall’anno 1696 al 1736*, ff. 88r-v (21 January 1704): “bottega sotto le bardate con suo uscio ribalte e serrata nella capella di S. Giovanni Battista de Celestini”, starting on 8 May. *Ibid.*, ff. 99r-v (26 January 1705): “una bottega con sua stanza di sopra sotto il portico delle scuole con suoi usci, chiavi, e chiavature”, starting on 8 May. The renewal appears as a later hand-written addition to this contract, starting retroactively on 8 May 1709. Marino’s death is recorded in AGAB, PS 19/6 (S. Lorenzo di Porta Stiera), nr. 1, f. 94r: “Dominus Marinus quondam domini Antonii Silvani ex hac parochia etatis sue annorum 66 circiter”. I thank Roberto Marchi for this reference and that of Garani’s death at n. 56.
- 12 Giuseppe Silvani, *Motetti a otto voci pieni con il responsorio di S. Antonio di Padova* (Bologna, Per gli eredi del Silvani, 1711), dated “dalle mie stampe. Bologna li 20 Ottobre 1711”.
- 13 ASB, Senato, Partiti 29, ff. 140r-v (28 April 1701): “privilegium alias Marino de Silvanis typographo concessum ad annos decem decurrendos per vota omnia affirmativa prorogantur”. For the previous *privilegio* (1686) see *ibid.*, Partiti 27, f. 156r. These were first cited in Maria Gioia Tavoni, ‘Tipografi e produzione libraria’, in *Produzione e circolazione libraria a Bologna nel Settecento: Avvio di un’indagine* (Bologna, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1987), pp. 91–242: p. 112 n. 49.

instead to marry.¹⁴ With his younger brother Paolo Vincenzo already married and with (male) offspring, Giuseppe's marriage – perhaps not by chance only after his father's death, and at age 41 – may well have led to disagreements over inheritance questions. That a dispute arose between the Silvani brothers around this time emerges from a letter to Giuseppe from the typefounder Bartolomeo Falcone, who, in relation to an outstanding debt incurred by Marino, refers in July 1716 to “some disagreement between you brothers”.¹⁵

Nevertheless, it appears that up to that time Giuseppe ran the business together with his brother Carlo Gaetano. In April 1713 Carlo lived, for one year only, on his own in a house in Via delle Lame, while Giuseppe lived with Domenico Borghi (probably the Bolognese singer) and his family in a house owned by the Mariscotti family, not far from his shop.¹⁶ Later that year, at the end of June, Giuseppe married the twenty-year-old Angela Rosa Garani, and this is where we first find an explicit connection between the Silvani and Albergati families.¹⁷ Angela Rosa was the daughter of Girolamo Garani and Antonia Taruffi. Her father had died on 1 May 1694, leaving behind both her and her sister Angela Catterina, as well as their pregnant mother, who some days later gave birth to Maria Girolama, the third daughter.¹⁸ Antonia took on the guardianship of the estate her daughters had inherited from their father, until she remarried in 1696, leaving the administration of this inheritance to the girls' uncles Giuseppe Maria and Ferdinando Maria Garani.¹⁹ After the

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- 14 He is mentioned as “D[on]” Giuseppe in the parish records in 1704 and 1705, as well as in Angelo Berardi's letter to “Sig. D. Giuseppe Antonio Silvani” published in his *Il perché musicale ovvero staffetta armonica* (Bologna, Pier Maria Monti, 1693), p. 28.
 - 15 Huub van der Linden, ‘Early eighteenth-century music type for the printer Giuseppe Antonio Silvani. Correspondence and other documents’, *Tipofilologia*, 5 (2012), pp. 27–66: p. 45.
 - 16 AGAB, PS 19/8 (S. Lorenzo di Porta Stiera), fasc. 22, unfoliated: “sig.^r Carlo Silvano Marini” [*sic*], in the “casa Parmeggiani” in Via delle Lame. According to Giuseppe Silvani's marriage contract Carlo lived in this parish, and this is the only name resembling his. *Ibid.*, 29/2 (S. Martino della Croce dei Santi), nr. 4, f. 6r (1713), in the “appartamenti dell'illustrissimo e Reverendissimo s.^r conte Bernardino e fratelli Mariscotti”: “Sig.^r Giuseppe Antonio Silvani d'anni 44 | Sig.^r Domenico Borghi d'anni 23 | Sig.^a Cattarina Borghi d'anni 17 | Sig.^a Alessandra Borghi d'anni 50”.
 - 17 Previously, an otherwise unknown “Marc'Antonio Silvani” appears in 1708 in a house owned by the Albergati at the “pugliole di S. Bernardino mano sinistra”, see SMM, *Status animarum dal an. 1701 al 1709*, f. 25r.
 - 18 This and the following information derive from a notarial document from 1718, discussed below, which is at ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 3 December 1718 (nr. 79).
 - 19 The girls had two other uncles who had already before their father's death entered the Olivetan monastery of S. Michele in Bosco.

latter died in 1705, Giuseppe Maria Garani continued the administration of his nieces' estate until 10 May 1707, when "for certain reasons he passed the said care-taking and administration to His Excellency sig.^r marchese Antonio Albergati".²⁰ In 1709 Angela Catterina entered the Dominican monastery of S. Guglielmo with the name Maria Rosalba, and renounced her part of the inheritance in favour of her two sisters.

The marriage contract between Giuseppe Silvani and Angela Garani dated 27 June 1713 confirmed that she "currently lives in the parish of S. Catterina in [Via] Saragozza, with the belowsaid sig. marchese Antonio Albergati, her guardian".²¹ Antonio Albergati stemmed from another branch of the family than Pirro Capacelli Albergati, which occupied the other half of the double family *palazzo* in Via Saragozza.²² As part of her dowry Angela brought, among other things, £1,289.10 of investments at various Monti di Pietà, which would partly fall to Giuseppe if she were to die without leaving him any children. Giuseppe, in turn, "sought and requested the belowsaid sig. Carlo Gaetano, his brother, to take the obligation in favour of the abovesaid sig.^{ra} Angela Rosa" of keeping and – if Giuseppe died before her – returning the dowry to her. To this Carlo agreed, "so as to do a favour to the said sig. Giuseppe his brother".²³ Among her assets were few other liquidities, but they included a claim against her uncle dr. Giuseppe Maria Garani in relation to the inheritance of two of her uncles (who had become monks and had given up their inheritance in part also to her father).

Less than a year after the marriage, in January 1714, Maria Girolama Garani entered into the same monastery as her older sister, leaving her possessions to her uncle Giuseppe Garani. In April of that year Giuseppe and Angela Rosa

20 Doc. cited in n. 18: Giuseppe Maria "continuò sino alli 10 maggio 1707, tempo in cui per certi motivi passò la cura et amministrazione sudetta nell'Eccellenza del sig.^r marchese Antonio Albergati".

21 ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 22 June 1713: "Sig.^{ra} Angiola Rosa del fu molt'illustre sig.^r Girolamo Garani cittadina di Bologna abitante al presente sotto la parochia di S. Catterina di Saragozza presso l'infradicto sig.^r marchese Antonio Albergati di lei curatore".

22 See Maurizio Ricci, 'Palazzo Albergati di Bologna. Problemi stilistici e ipotesi attributive', *Annali di Architettura*, 10–11 (1998–99), pp. 62–81.

23 Giuseppe "ha ricercato e pregato l'infradicto sig.^r Carlo Gaetano suo fratello a volere fare l'infradicta obligatione a favore della sudetta Sig.^{ra} Angela Rosa", to which he agrees "per far cosa grata al detto sig.^r Giuseppe suo fratello". On the restitution of dowries see Stanley Chojnacki, 'Getting back the dowry. Venice c. 1360–1530' in Idem, *Women and men in Renaissance Venice. Twelve essays on patrician society* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 95–111.

Silvani are recorded as living together, and some months later their first child was born. This appears first from Angela's testament, drawn up on 15 August 1714, with which she "establishes, calls, nominates, and wants that her sole heir be Anna Elisabetta her daughter, and any other children that may perhaps be born in the future from her and the said sig. Giuseppe Silvani her husband".²⁴ The next year the girl is listed with her parents in the parish records.²⁵ In October 1714 Silvani signed a three-year contract for the rental of a shop with an upstairs room, starting in May 1715 at £75 a year. It is probably the same one as that previously rented by his father.²⁶ Also in 1714, Pirro Capacelli Albergati published for the first time an edition of his music – the *Cantate et oratori spirituali* opus 10 – with the Silvani firm, something perhaps facilitated by the existing Albergati-Garani guardianship.²⁷

From a previously unknown notarial document we catch a glimpse of Silvani's activities as a bookseller at this time. It shows that an authenticated copy was made of a letter from Tolomeo Caifabri in Rome dated 23 March 1715 – almost certainly a relative of the music publisher and bookseller Giovanni Battista Caifabri (c. 1632–1700). Caifabri ordered copies of 20 different editions printed by Marino Silvani and his sons between 1697 and 1712, and by Piermaria Monti, Giuseppe Silvani's uncle, in the 1690s.²⁸ Not all editions can be securely identified, but based on the prices in Marino Silvani's catalogue from 1707 the order added up to a retail value of some 21 *scudi* (although Caifabri probably paid a much reduced price).²⁹ Caifabri urged Silvani to send him clean

24 ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 15 August 1714 (nr. 46): she "istituisce, chiama, nomina, e vuole che sii sua erede un'iversale l'Anna Elisabetta sua figlia, infante, e tutti gl'altri suoi figlioli che forse in avvenire nasceranno da lei e dal detto sig.^r Giuseppe Silvani suo marito".

25 AGAB, PS 29/2 (S. Martino della Croce dei Santi), nr. 4, f. 13^r (1715): "S.^r Giuseppe Antonio Silvani d'anni 46 [sic] | S.^a Angela Rosa Garrani sua moglie 22 | S.^a Anna Elisabetta loro figlia di mesi 7 | Angela Maria Scabazzi d'anni 45".

26 AFSP, 461, nr. 6, *Scritti di locazioni*, ff. 214^{r-v} (1 October 1714): rental to "s.^r Gioseffo Antonio Silvani quondam s.^r Martino" of a "bottega con una stanza sopra la sudetta bottega sotto il portico delle scuole" in the parish of S. Andrea degli Ansaldi, starting on 8 May.

27 Pirro Capacelli Albergati, *Cantate et oratori spirituali a una, due, e tre voci con strumenti* (Bologna, Fratelli Silvani, 1714).

28 On the older Caifabri see the little information in Saverio Franchi, *Le impressioni sceniche. Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800* (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1994), p. 299, and Patrizio Barbieri, 'Musica, tipografi e librai a Roma. Tecnologie di stampa e integrazioni biografiche, 1583–1833', *Recercare*, 7 (1995), pp. 47–85: p. 71.

29 Catalogue XVI in Oscar Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Florence, Olschki, 1984), pp. 289–298, and dated 1707 on the basis of manuscript additions of editions published that year.

copies – as opposed to the ruined copy of Giovanni Maria Bononcini's *Musico pratico*, which he had been sent at an earlier occasion – and he wrote that if Silvani required “other works by Giuseppe Valentini” he would be happy to send these to him.³⁰ This shows that the two men had previously already sold books to each other. The fact that Caifabri singles out Valentini suggests that he knew of a particular interest in his music.³¹ For Silvani the year 1715 ended on a low note, however, because although Angela Rosa had quickly become pregnant again after the birth of their daughter, on 3 November their parish priest had to record the death of “Marino, son of Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, at the age of 15 days”, and his burial the next day.³²

The next year Silvani established a business partnership with Capacelli Albergati. This development fits a pattern: the direct involvement of noblemen in the printing business had become a recurrent practice in eighteenth-century Italy. It provided printers with much-needed cash and noblemen with direct access to the symbolic and cultural capital of the printed word, as well as more control over the publication of their own and others' works.³³ With the preceding history of the Silvani family in mind, Giuseppe's partnership now already appears in a somewhat different light.³⁴ Not only had Pirro Capacelli Albergati just started publishing his music with the Silvani brothers, his relative and

30 The last known Italian edition is Giovanni Maria Bononcini, *Musico pratico* (Bologna, Giacomo Monti, 1688). ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 13 January 1716: “Sono con questo a pregarla di volermi spedire con più solecitudine che sia possibile la sotto notata robba, e siano registrate, e foglij sani, che nella passata mi avete mandato li libri del musico pratico uno tutto rovinato che non serve a niente. [list of editions] Questo è quanto desidero, non di più, e se a V.S. gli facessi di bisogno altre opere del sig.^r Giuseppe Valentini in cambi glie ne mandarei, et resto a vostri comandi”.

31 Caifabri's suggestion perhaps derives from the recent publication of Valentini's *Allettamenti per camera* (Rome, Mascardi, 1714).

32 AGAB, PS 29/1, fasc. 5, *Secundus liber defunctorum S. Martini de +SS.^{rum}*, f. 49v: “Anno Domini 1715, die 3 gbris, Marinus filius Joseph Antonii Silvani etatis suę 15 dierum in quodam appartamento palatij Illustrissimorum de Mariscottis in communione Sanctę Matris Ecclesię animam Deo reddidit, cuius corpus die 4 eiusdem sepultum est in sepultura innocentium huiusce Ecclesię”.

33 On the role of noblemen in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian printing see Maria Gioia Tavoni, ‘La società di Pallade tra nobili e tipografi’, in L. Baldacchini & A. Manfron (eds.), *Il libro in Romagna. Produzione, commercio e consumo dalla fine del secolo XV all'età contemporanea* (Florence, Olschki, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 501–555; Renato Pasta, ‘Towards a social history of ideas. The book and the booktrade in eighteenth-century Italy’, in Hans Erich Bödeker (ed.), *Histoires du livre. Nouvelles orientations* (Paris, IMEC Éditions, 1995), pp. 101–138; pp. 114–115.

34 The first to note the business partnership between Capacelli Albergati and Silvani appears to have been Tavoni, ‘Tipografi e produzione libraria’, pp. 112–116.

neighbour Antonio Albergati had played a decisive part in Silvani's marriage as the legal guardian of Angela Rosa Garani.³⁵ The authenticated copy of Caifabri's letter was made in January 1716, and although the reason for it is not indicated, it is tempting to relate it to the changes in the firm. Silvani and Capacelli Albergati established a business partnership with a contract signed on 12 September 1716, but already on 31 March they had ordered a completely new set of music type from a Venetian typefounder.³⁶

Although Giuseppe Silvani himself identified the former document as a "copy of the letter written by sig. Tolomeo Ilarioni Caifabri to sig. Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, music printer in Bologna", the notary added in his own hand to Silvani's copy that it was actually addressed "to sig.^r Carlo Silvani and his brothers".³⁷ This suggests that Giuseppe's brother Carlo played an important (if not leading) role in the firm still in 1715, and the plural "brothers" even suggests more than two of them collaborated in the firm. The contract between Silvani and Capacelli Albergati, on the other hand, only involves the two of them. The fact that the inventory of what Silvani brought into the firm included 405 lb of alphabetic type but no music type, strongly suggests that he had, for some reason, lost the music type that he had been using until shortly before with his brother(s).³⁸ He (or they) may have been forced to sell or relinquish it as the business took on a new legal form, but unless more information comes to light this will remain unclear.

The contract between Capacelli Albergati and Silvani established that the expenses and profits of the firm were to be divided equally between the two partners, that the count could have his works printed at cost price, and that proceeds from works sold from Silvani's back stock – like the books requested by Caifabri – were exclusively for him. The conditions were onerous for Silvani: not only did he have to reimburse the count for half of the new type ordered from Falcone (initially £343.16 from a total of £687.12), at the end of the partnership "the said sig.^r Silvani is obliged to buy the part of the type belonging to the said sig.^r the count at the price that will be established at that time by two experts [...] and the said sig.^r Silvani is obliged to reimburse the abovesaid sig.^r

35 See n. 27 and Pirro Capacelli Albergati, *Hinno et antifone della B. Vergine...opera undecima* (Bologna, Fratelli Silvani, 1715).

36 Van der Linden, 'Early eighteenth-century music type', p. 29.

37 ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 13 January 1716: "Copia della lettera scritta dal sig.^r Tolomeo Ilarioni Caifabri al sig.^r Giuseppe Antonio Silvani stampatore di musica in Bologna", later crossed out by the notary, who added "foris [i.e. of the letter]: A sig.^r Carlo, e fratelli Silvani | Bologna".

38 Pace Giovani, "Un capitale", who despite the inventory assumes the type remained with Giuseppe. In fact, Giuseppe's own *Motetti a 2 e 3 voci con violini e senza*, printed by the "fratelli Silvani" in 1716 has a dedication dated 31 March.

the count this amount immediately”.³⁹ This condition formed right from the start an enormous financial burden for Silvani, and he clearly entered the partnership with Capacelli Albergati, financially, from a disadvantaged position.

That Silvani – who, we must remember, continued to have an income as *maestro di cappella* of S. Stefano – nonetheless agreed to continue his printing business on these conditions may have several explanations. As the only music printer in Bologna at the time, perhaps he simply expected to sell enough books to make a decent profit. Although we do not know how often Silvani concluded sales like the one to Caifabri, a consistent number of these would have secured him a steady source of income. Secondly, he may have counted on the future income optimistically listed as part of his wife’s possessions in their marriage contract. In fact, precisely in 1716 Angela Rosa and her sister Maria Rosalba had taken their uncle to court over their inheritance claim, but “with a final decree the said sisters lost the final judgement”. Subsequently the two sisters and Silvani appealed, in vain, to the cardinal legate, and then planned on resorting to legal action once more.⁴⁰

Meanwhile the first work of the new firm was being printed.⁴¹ The dedication of Angelo Bertalotti’s *Regole per apprendere il canto figurato* is dated 20 November 1716, and a notebook from the firm that lists the printing dates confirms this.⁴² From an account book we learn the print run and sales figures of the editions printed during the Silvani-Capacelli Albergati collaboration. 248 copies of Bertalotti’s primer were produced.⁴³ Between November and December of that year seven copies were sold, and up to September 1717

39 The full document is in Van der Linden, ‘Early eighteenth-century music type’, pp. 56–59, doc. 8. See also Carrie Churnside, ‘Music printing in early eighteenth-century Bologna. The case of Giuseppe Antonio Silvani and Pirro Albergati’, *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 17 (2012), pp. 105–134: pp. 130–131.

40 This emerges from the agreement reached two years later, see ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 3 December 1718 (nr. 79): in 1716 “dette sig.^{re} sorelle soccomberanno per decreto deffinitivo passato in giudicato”.

41 The following information on print runs and sales figures all derives from ASB, Albergati, Miscellanea 58, nr. 5, *Conto delle opere stampate dal Silvani nella società con S.E.* (henceforth *Conto delle opere*). These figures have now been transcribed and analysed in Churnside, ‘Music printing’. For more see Huub van der Linden, ‘Printing music in Italy around 1700. Workshop practices at the Silvani firm in Bologna’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 109/4 (2015), forthcoming.

42 Angelo Bertalotti, *Regole per apprendere con facilità il canto figurato* (Bologna, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, 1716). ASB, Albergati, Miscellanea 58, *Opere stampate nella stamperia di Giuseppe Silvani* (henceforth *Opere stampate*): “1716 | Regole pel canto figurato: di Angelo Bertalotti. di novembre”.

43 *Conto delle opere*, f. 7a.

another 5 copies were sold. The next publication was the book of *Canzoni madrigalesche et arie per camera* by the Venetian nobleman Benedetto Marcello, printed between January and February 1717 in oblong folio format.⁴⁴ The composer received 40 of the 197 copies for which he paid £216. The books were packed and handed over to the courier for Venice on 2 March.⁴⁵ Next, Capacelli Albergati's own *Corona de pregi di Maria* was printed in a print run of 193 copies, of which he himself received 50. The dedication to Violante of Bavaria, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, is dated 9 May 1717, and the work was printed that same month. A dedicatory copy was sent to Florence in August.⁴⁶ The fourth edition that the new firm published was Paolo Benedetto Bellinzani's first book of Masses, which according to Capacelli Albergati's list was printed in June 1717.⁴⁷ A total of 191 copies were printed, of which 36 went to the composer. The final work to come from the press during the partnership was Capacelli Albergati's *Motetti con il responsorio di S. Antonio di Padoa*, printed in a print run of 155 copies in 1717, including 23 copies for the count himself.⁴⁸

Shortly after printing Capacelli Albergati's *Motetti*, in October 1717, Silvani and the count were involved in a serious dispute. Silvani's proposal for what was likely an attempt at mediation reveals that by this point he tried, almost desperately, to reduce his large debt to the count, proposing to accept a lower wage for himself if he would receive the type for which he was still indebted. Capacelli Albergati did not accept these proposals and it appears the firm came to an end soon thereafter at least *de facto*, because another document

44 *Opere stampate*: "1717 | Canzoni madrigalesche et arie per camera: à 2, 3, e 4 voci: di Benedetto Marcello nobile veneto; In partitura. Di febbraio. Opera 4^a". Benedetto Marcello, *Canzoni madrigalesche et arie per camera* (Bologna, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, 1717).

45 *Conto delle opere*, f. 6a: "2 marzo, pagati all'inbalatore, che ha inbalato le sudette opere 40 tra spesa e fattura £3.1.— | detto, per consegna di detta baletta al corriero di Venetia £—.2.—" (not "intagliatore" and "intagliato", or "intaliatore" and "intaliato", as in Churnside, 'Music printing', pp. 119, 133, which leads her to the erroneous interpretation of an engraver working on this edition).

46 *Opere stampate*: "Corona de pregi di Maria: cantate à voce sola del conte P.C.A. In partitura. Di maggio. Opera 13^a". Pirro Capacelli Albergati, *Corona de pregi di Maria...opera XIII* (Bologna, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, 1717). On the dedication copy Churnside, 'Music printing', p. 121.

47 Paolo Bellinzani, *Missæ quatuor vocibus concinendæ* (Bononiæ, Typis Joseph Antonii Silvani, 1717).

48 *Opere stampate*: "Motetti con il responsorio di S. Antonio di Padoa: à una, e 3 voci, con strumenti del conte P.C.A. Di settembre. Opera 12^a". Pirro Capacelli Albergati, *Motetti con il responsorio di S. Antonio di Padoa* (Bologna, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, 1717).

states that it lasted until the end of 1717. The firm was not dissolved *de iure* until the contractually established three-year period had elapsed. From a balance sheet drawn up on 25 April 1720, after the two had reached an agreement, we learn that Silvani kept the type acquired by the firm, which is listed for a total amount of £794.6.⁴⁹ Silvani now had to reimburse the loan for his own share as well as buy out Capacelli Albergati's share, but he had little income. Following the payments by Benedetto Marcello for his copies of the *Canzoni madrigalesche*, Silvani had reimbursed the count in March and April 1717 a total of £104.11.6.⁵⁰ This amount is probably included in the £127.2.6 listed as the total amount paid back by him on the 1720 balance sheet.

The combined sales figures up to 1720 of the five works the firm printed add up to a modest total of £103.6. Income from Silvani's back catalogue was apparently also not very substantial. Sales such as those to Caifabri brought in money (probably less than £50), but do not seem to have been very common.⁵¹ We also know that in March 1717 Capacelli Albergati had bought Valentini's opus 7 – printed in 1710 by Marino Silvani – and unnamed works by Bassani from Silvani for £12.11.⁵² The number of copies handed over to the composer by the printer, although in itself a common business model, raises questions about where these ended up. They may well have stifled the publisher's own sales, at least in the places where the composer resided.⁵³ Some proof that composers sold their own works appears from a note on a copy of Ippolito Ghezzi's Lamentations for Holy Week which had been printed by Marino Silvani in 1707 (and of which Caifabri had still ordered a copy in 1715):

49 In ASB, Albergati, Miscellanea 58, nr. 5.

50 *Conto delle opere*, f. 4a: "16 marzo [1717]. Avuti dal sig.^r Giosepe Silvani in contanti, danari suoi proprii aconto del decontro conto £94.5.—"; "8 aprile avuti contanti dal sig.^{re} Giosepe Silvani denari suoi proprii aconto di suo dare £20.6.6".

51 The *Conto delle opere* shows that booksellers were charged less than half the official retail price. This suggests that also Caifabri's 21 *scudi* order from 1715 brought in at most around 10 *scudi*, which at 5 bolognese *lire a scudo* (a rate which derives from the account book itself) equals £50.

52 *Conto delle opere*, f. 4a: "17 marzo [1717]. Per il valore di foglii 116 di opere del Bassani £5.16.— | 31 detto. Per il valore dell'opera settima di Giosepe Valentini foglii 90 a ragione di *quatrini* 9 il foglio £6.15.—". Giuseppe Valentini, *Concerti grossi, a quattro e sei strumenti...opera settima* (Bologna, Marino Silvani, 1710).

53 See on this practice in the sixteenth century Jane A. Bernstein, *Print culture and music in sixteenth-century Venice* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 78, 100, and for our period e.g. Rudolf Rasch, 'Corelli's contract. Notes on the publication history of the *Concerti Grossi...Opera sesta* [1714]', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 46/2 (1996), pp. 83–136.

“D. Girolamo Chiti 1711, in S. Agostino in Siena, on 2 March, bought from the author for 5 *paoli*” (Fig. 17.1).⁵⁴ This price was actually one *paolo* higher than what appeared in Marino Silvani’s sales catalogue from 1707. Something similar may have been the case with the set of part books of Bellinzani’s *Missæ* that have an early provenance from the Venetian congregation of St Filippo Neri. Rather than from Silvani, they perhaps acquired the set directly from Bellinzani, who between 1715 and 1718 was *maestro di cappella* in relatively nearby Udine.⁵⁵ If composers gave away rather than sold copies, the market was spoiled even more. Given that Pirro Capacelli Albergati and Benedetto Marcello were not publishing their music for financial gain, they are likely to have done just that.

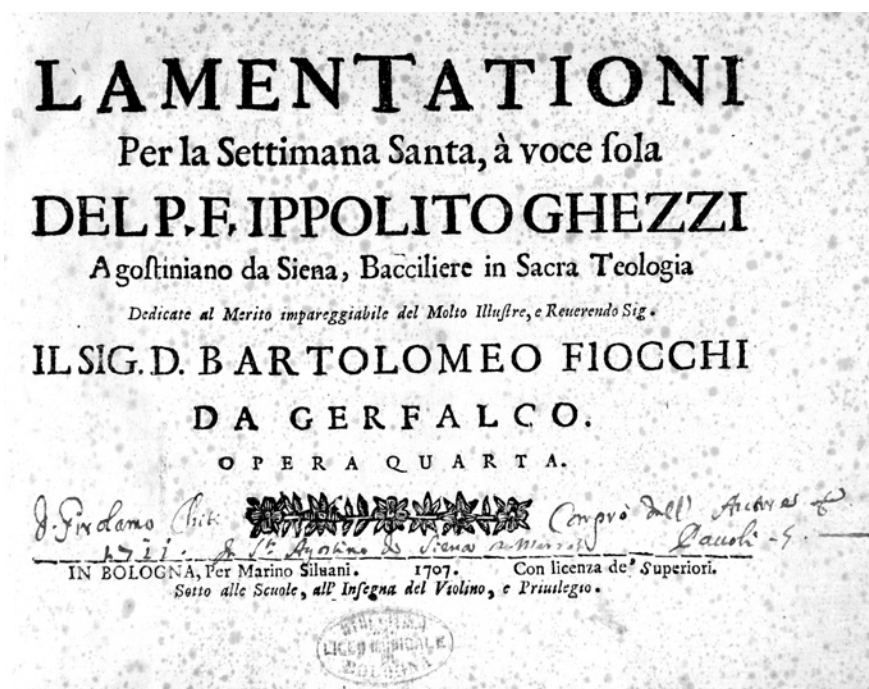


FIGURE 17.1 *Ippolito Ghezzi, Lamentationi per la Settimana Santa a voce sola (Bologna, Marino Silvani, 1707), bought by Girolamo Chiti from the author in 1711*
BOLOGNA, MUSEO INTERNAZIONALE E BIBLIOTECA DELLA MUSICA, FF.123

- 54 Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, FF.123, on the title page: “D. Girolamo Chiti 1711. In Santo Agostino di Siena 2 Marzo, comprò dall'autore per pauali 5.—”. Ghezzi lived in Siena at the time.
- 55 Venice, Fondazione Levi, CF E.12a-e: on all part books “Congregationis S.^{ti} Filippi Neri Venetiarum”.

During this period Silvani and his family initially continued to live in the parish of S. Martino, but the dispute with Capacelli Albergati also appears to have affected his family life. By April 1718 the Silvanis had moved out of the parish, and on 19 December Giuseppe's wife died.⁵⁶ That her death was not unexpected is suggested by the fact that earlier that month she had settled – out of court and with the consent of her husband – the dispute with her uncle about the inheritance claim. A long notarial act from 3 December 1718 details the history of the case and establishes the division agreed upon. After all calculations were made the net result was £1,345.7.1 for Giuseppe Maria Garani and £158.8.11 for Angela Rosa, surely less than she had initially hoped for. The party-appointed accountant who certified the calculations for the Silvanis was one Lodovico Antonio Cavallini: likely a relative of Maria Camilla Cavallini, Giuseppe Silvani's sister-in-law.⁵⁷ If so, this makes it less likely that Giuseppe and Paolo Vincenzo Silvani were (still) on bad terms, and it also shows the role Giuseppe's extended family played in his affairs.

By the time the 1719 parish records were made "Gioseffo Silvani" is listed as living in the same parish as his shop, together with "Alberto his shop assistant" and what appear to be the latter's wife and son, as well as Silvani's servant "Maria", who is likely the Maria Piazza mentioned in later parish records and in Giuseppe's will from 1726.⁵⁸ Initially his late wife's settlement seems to have prompted Giuseppe, too, to come to an agreement with Capacelli Albergati. In April 1720 he accepted a £400 debt to the count, but later he disputed the deal. In August 1720 a final court sentence established his debt to the count as £371.13.⁵⁹ By that time the parish records list "Gioseffo Silvani" and "Alberto his servant" in the Via di S. Domenico. In the nearby Via del Cane we find one "Anna Garanni Pezzi" with her son Bernardo and a servant. Like Giuseppe Silvani, she and her then sixteen-year-old son first appear in the parish in 1719.⁶⁰

56 AGAB, PS 29/2, nr. 4, ff. 17r and 20v for the 1716 and 1717 records, which list Silvani, his wife and their daughter. They no longer appear in 1718. For Angela's death see AGAB, PS 2/3 (S. Andrea degli Ansaldi), nr. 5, unfoliated (printed text in bold): "**Anno 1718 Die 18. decembris Mensis domina Rosa Carani [sic] Silvani uxor domini [blank] de Silvanis ætatis Annorum 24 in Domo ecclesia Sancti [sic] Domini, dum concionabatur**".

57 ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 3 December 1718 (nr. 79): "Io D. Lodovico Antonio Cavallini aritmetico detto per parte del sig.^r Giuseppe Silvani asserisco detti conti essere ben fatti".

58 AGAB, PS 2/5, fasc. 17, undated but 1719, no street indicated: "Sig.^r Gioseffo Silvani | Alberto suo homo di bottega | Sig.^{ra} Antonia Messieri | Massimo figlio 16 | Maria sua serva".

59 Van der Linden, 'Early eighteenth-century music type', p. 47.

60 AGAB, PS 2/5 (S. Andrea degli Ansaldi), fasc. 17, undated but 1719, no street indicated: "Sig.^a Anna Garanni Pezzi | Bernardo Pezzi figlio 16 | Maria Serva". Ibid., fasc. 1, *ad annum* 1720,

She was in all likelihood a relative of Giuseppe Antonio's late wife, and this Bernardo may be the same Bernardo Pezzi who in 1734 was one of the witnesses at the marriage of Silvani's daughter.⁶¹ That Silvani had also lost his shop is suggested by the changing imprint used during these years. Carlo Maria Clari's *Duetti e terzetti da camera* and Silvani's own *Messe breve a quattro voci* from 1720 were still sold "under the University, at the sign of the violin", but the reprint of Bertalotti's *Regole utilissime* published (presumably later) that same year no longer carries this imprint.⁶²

Giuseppe Antonio and Carlo Gaetano Silvani apparently continued to work together during these times, because on the day of the initial agreement with Capacelli Albergati, Carlo made a statement about this settlement to the prior of S. Stefano "in the shop of his brother".⁶³ Moreover, in 1721 the two brothers lived together in the Via del Cane with their servant (although Giuseppe's name is given as "Gioseffo Marini").⁶⁴ A year later Carlo Silvani had moved out of the house, and "Gioseffo Marini" is listed as living alone with his servant Maria Piazza. Moreover, his two-person household is listed directly following that of the Garani Pezzi family, which suggests they lived close to each other in the same building.⁶⁵ Hence, Silvani may have maintained bonds to his wife's family. By this time he had set up his shop at home, because one edition with an imprint dated 28 September 1722 was sold "in the Via del Cane".⁶⁶ In 1724

in the Via del Cane: "S.^{ra} Anna Garanni Pezzi | Bernardo Pezzi figlio | Maria Serva"; in the Via di S. Domenico: "Gioseffo Silvani | Alberto suo servitore | — | — | —". These pen strokes imply the absent Antonia, Massimo and Maria (see n. 58).

- 61 See ASB, Fondi privati, S. Maria del Baraccano, 193 (10 April 1734), nr. 28, for the presence of "Bernardo quondam Domini Ioannis Pezzi cive Bononię capellę ss. Cosmę et Damiani cognato dictę Dominę Annę Helisabethę Silvani". Although here identified as her brother-in-law, the exact relationship is not clear because Anna Elisabetta Silvani was an only child.
- 62 Carlo Clari, *Duetti e terzetti da camera* (Bologna, Giuseppe Silvani, 1720), and Giuseppe Silvani, *Messe brevi a quattro voci piene* (Bologna, Giuseppe Silvani, 1720), sold "Sotto le scuole all'insegna del violino".
- 63 ASB, Albergati, Miscellanea 58, nr. 5: "attestato fatto dal sig.^{re} Carlo Silvani a me D. Giovanni Biagi li 25 aprile 1720 a hore 15 in circa nel [sic] bottega del suo sig.^{re} fratello".
- 64 AGAB, PS 2/5, fasc. 1, *ad annum* 1721, in the Via del Cane: "Gioseffo Marini | Carlo fratello | Maria Piazza". Although the surname Silvani does not appear, "Marini" can be understood as "[son] of Marino". Moreover, the names of his brother and servant correspond to those mentioned elsewhere. Still present are also "S.^a Anna Maria Garani Pezzi | Bernardo Pezzi figlio | Giustina Magnoni moglie | Claudia Gatti Serva".
- 65 Ibid, *ad annum* 1722, in the Via del Cane: "S. Anna Maria Garani Pezzi | Bernardo Pezzi figlio | Giustina Magnoni moglie | Claudia Gatti serva || Gioseffo Marini | Maria Piazza serva".
- 66 Francesco Gasparini, *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Bologna, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, 1722): "si vendono nella Via del Cane con privilegio".

both families still lived in the Via del Cane, but by 1725 Silvani had moved to the parish of S. Procolo, where he would die on 22 October 1726.⁶⁷

The possible disputes between the Silvani brothers appear to have been resolved by the end of Giuseppe's life. In 1726 Carlo Gaetano was a witness when Giuseppe sold land his daughter had inherited from her mother,⁶⁸ and later that same year the brothers' nephew Antonio – a son of Paolo Vincenzo Silvani – was present at the opening of Giuseppe's testament (although that may have been due to the fact that Giuseppe, and later his daughter, owed Antonio's mother Camilla Cavallini Silvani some money).⁶⁹ The continuing importance to Giuseppe of his father Marino emerges, symbolically, from the closing of his testament on 22 July 1726. Giuseppe sealed the document with his father's seal, "showing the letters M and S with a cross in-between, which the said sig.^r Giuseppe Antonio told was the mark or seal of the said late sig.^r Marino Silvani, his father" (Fig. 17.2).⁷⁰

The problems with the partnership with Capacelli Albergati, on the other hand, derived from social differences. The count's finances in this period show

67 AGAB, PS 2/5, nr. 1, *ad annum* 1724: "Gioseffo Marini" lived with another servant, Giacoma Zamboni, but Maria Piazza was later mentioned in his testament, so she must have returned. The parish records of S. Procolo, which are still kept at the church, were not accessible at the time research for this article was conducted.

68 ASB, Fondi privati, S. Maria del Baraccano, 193 (13 September 1726): *Emptio Ex.^{mi} d. Petri Fran.^{ci} Peggi à dd. Ioseph Antonio et Anna Elisabeth, patre et filia de Silvanis*, signed with witnesses and "ibidem presente Domino Carolo Gaetano quondam dicti domini Marini Silvani, capelle Sancti Laurentii Portę Sterię patruo dictę dominę minoris homine maiores qui prædictis et superdictis omnibus et singulis interfuit, et consensit, iuramentisque corporalis ad Sancta Dei Evangelia manu tactis".

69 The testament dated 21 July 1726 is in ASB, Fondi privati, S. Maria del Baraccano, 193: "voglio, e mi dichiaro, che venga adempita la mia obligatione fatta a favore della sig.^{ra} Camilla Cavalini Silvani mia cognata salvo quanto possi essere da me stato pagato, e questo purché le forze del mio stato siino abili". Ibid., for the estate of Elisabetta Silvani, which lists £114 debt to "Sig.^{ra} Maria Camilla Cavallini Silvani", and for the *Testamenti D. Ioseph Ant.ⁿⁱ Silvani aperitio et publicatio*, in the presence of among others "Domino Antonio olım excellentissimi Domini doctoris Pauli Vincentii Silvani capelle S. Marini". He was not among the witnesses when the testament was sealed. Also relevant is that he was perhaps the same "Antonio Silvani" who with his family "worked" the land sold by Giuseppe earlier.

70 Ibid., (22 July 1726): *Testamenti D. Ioseph Antonii Silvani consignatio*: "Indi là posto duoi sigilli in cera di Spagna rossa in due angoli, e nella medesima faciata di detto plico, uniformi nel contenuto, e cioè rapresentanti le due lettere M et S con una croce nel mezzo, che disse esso sig.^r Giuseppe Antonio essere la marca o sigillo del detto fu sig.^r Marino Silvani suo padre".



FIGURE 17.2 *One of the wax seals made with Marino Silvani's seal used on the wrapper that contained Giuseppe Silvani's testament, 22 July 1726*

ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI BOLOGNA, FONDI PRIVATI, S. MARIA DEL
BARACCANO, 193

that the possible profits from the firm were likely of relatively little importance to him. He had a substantial annual income, and had for instance no problem with lending his nephew £21,484.10 for his marriage in January 1719, or cancelling in December 1715 an outstanding loan of £1,150 to his parish for the

improvement of the church.⁷¹ Silvani, on the other hand, surely aimed to make a profit from printing music, and he came into trouble when he did not. That the count insisted on getting money back from Silvani had therefore more to do with personal motivations: betrayed trust and a hurt sense of honour. He responded to Silvani that “he does not want to be made a fool of, nor be ungratefully betrayed, having always operated to his [Silvani’s] advantage and to his own damage”.⁷²

Also the books themselves became a question of honour. The issue of how a gentleman (let alone an aristocrat) could be an author was no trivial affair.⁷³ In particular the partbooks of Capacelli Albergati’s *Motetti* – not by chance the last work printed before trouble broke out – are rife with larger and smaller pasted-in cancel slips (Fig. 17.3), and in one place even an entire additional page had to be added. If the count was not much interested in making a profit but sought to use print to make a statement about himself and his music, the



FIGURE 17.3 Two of the many cancel slips pasted into Pirro Capacelli Albergati, *Motetti con il responsorio di S. Antonio di Padoa* (Bologna, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, 1717), here from the viola partbook, p. 12

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71 As appears from ASB, Notarile, Giuseppe Antonio Maria Orlandi, 4 May 1720 (nr. 26), which documents the restitution of the loan. For the latter see *Ibid.*, 30 December 1715 (nr. 48): from the initial loan of £1,350 he had been repaid only £200.

72 Van der Linden, 'Early eighteenth-century music type', p. 66, doc. 21.

73 Adrian Johns, *The nature of the book. Print and knowledge in the making* (Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press), pp. 175–186 and *passim*.

sloppy edition of his *Motetti* surely did not help. The direct association between author and book meant that its quality and price became matters of personal honour. When Capacelli Albergati wanted Silvani to buy the remaining stock of the works produced during their partnership, in order to make some money instantly before liquidating the firm, Silvani played up precisely the affinity between the status of the author and that of the printed book by objecting that:

In order to sell these works reputably many years are needed, and to make money from them now would require selling them with great dishonour and disadvantage. Now let Your Excellency consider whether I can do this or not, and I wouldn't do it, because it would be an offence that I cause to Your Excellency's works, as well as to those of the other *virtuosi*, and if you do not like this, it behoves Your Excellency to allow that I buy them at £7.10 a ream, as has been determined by experts in similar occasions.⁷⁴

Selling works to the public at a discount was an affront to their authors, Silvani argued, playing to Capacelli Albergati's sense of honour, and he should instead allow Silvani to buy them at a reduced rate. The count, however, extended this argument also to Silvani himself, replying that "since these works are all modern, he has no intention of selling them at the rate of old works, sold to wrap sardines in, but instead at a just and appropriate price".⁷⁵

Like other early modern artisans, Giuseppe Silvani's business affairs and his social life were inextricably intertwined, both socially and financially. His brothers played a role in the firm, and Giuseppe and his wife's family life and personal finances also appear to have directly affected the business. His marriage also brought him into a closer relationship with one branch of the Albergati family, and this perhaps helped forge the subsequent business partnership with Pirro Capacelli Albergati. However, this awkward partnership between formal equals actually resembled a patronage relationship of financial and social dependency. These 'universal' problems were arguably exacerbated by the specific economic and cultural problems facing specialist printers. Specialist type required large investments, and they had far fewer possibilities to diversify their catalogue and compensate for losses in one area. Although Silvani owned also alphabetic type, and the contract that established the

⁷⁴ See Van der Linden, 'Early eighteenth-century music type', p. 65, doc. 20 (8 October 1717).

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 65, doc. 21 (8 October 1717). In the cited article I erroneously gave the amount in this document as "£2.10".

partnership explicitly mentioned the possibility of printing lucrative ephemera (“poems and other small things”), nothing other than music and music textbooks are known to have come from his press.⁷⁶ Yet despite being a specialist firm, it was precisely the juxtaposition within the firm of the *different* social functions music had for Silvani and Capacelli Albergati that led to misunderstandings about the cultural and economic characteristics of printing music.⁷⁷

76 Van der Linden, ‘Early eighteenth-century music type’, pp. 56–57, doc. 8: “sonetti et altre cose minute”. On the economic importance of such material see Donald F. McKenzie, ‘The economies of print, 1550–1750. Scales of production and conditions of constraint’, in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro*, secc. 13.-18 (Grassina Bagno a Ripoli, Le Monnier, 1992), pp. 389–425.

77 See for another case Rebecca Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the functions of music publishing in Restoration England’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63/2 (2010), pp. 243–290.

PART 4

'Not For Profit' Publication: Subsidised Specialisation



A Unique Seventeenth Century Rusyn Catechism and the Jesuit Connection¹

Paul Shore

One of the principle legacies of the baroque Society of Jesus is the vast and lavish array of printed materials produced by Jesuit presses, an output fostering a book culture that proved more enduring than Jesuit polemics, theatre or music.² In the Habsburg realms east of the river Leitha Jesuit book culture during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was the product of a handful of presses. These were scattered across the mountainous spine of Royal or Upper Hungary from near Vienna to the northeast angle of the kingdom, and then southward into Transylvania. Jesuit presses, and the schools with which they were generally connected, became a key element in the confessional and cultural transformations that engulfed the eastern Habsburg territories from the 1660s onward.³ These presses were also a means by which the moral, aesthetic and theological worlds of Tridentine Catholicism were carried to the eastern edge of what was then considered 'Europe' by men who were often natives of this borderland.⁴

Katekhisís dlíá naouky Ougróruským lúdem zlozhennú, the first book printed in the Rusyn (sometimes called Ruthenian or Old West Russian) language, was published in Trnava in 1698, at the Jesuit press.⁵ Paul Robert Magocsi and

1 This essay was completed with the support of Brandon University and the University of Manitoba. Thanks also to Lynn Whidden, James A. Kominowski and Matthew Herrell.

2 Some sense of the scale of Jesuit book production can be gained by consulting Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (11 vols., Bruxelles, O. Schepens; Paris, A. Picard, 1890-).

3 William H. McNeill, *Europe's steppe frontier 1500–1800* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 73.

4 Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical atlas of Central Europe* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2002), p. 15.

5 "Ruthenian" derives from the Latinised form of "Rus" and "russ'kyi", which in the seventeenth century could refer to Russia and Russians as well as to the Rusyn. Rusyn (руси́ньський язы́к) is a term of much more recent origin when applied exclusively to the Transcarpathian Slavic language; in the nineteenth century it was also a self-designation of many ethnic Ukrainians. Natalia Yakovenko, 'Choice of name versus choice of path. The names of Ukrainian territories from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century', in Georgiy Kasianov & Phillip Ther (eds.), *A Laboratory of transnational history. Ukraine and Recent Ukrainian Historiography* (Budapest, CEU Press, 2009), pp. 117–148: pp. 118–120.

Bohdan Struminsk'yj have undertaken a detailed study of the linguistic features of this volume, as well as noting typographical errors that shed light on the backgrounds of the typesetter(s).⁶ This paper will focus rather on the location of *Katekhis* within the broader context of Jesuit book culture in the eastern Habsburg lands and on the relationship of this culture to other aspects of the Jesuit enterprise in this region.

Key to our understanding of this culture is the institution of the Jesuit press in Trnava.⁷ The site of a synod in 1638 that regulated Catholic worship,⁸ and chosen as the home of a significant collection of schools maintained by the Society of Jesus,⁹ Trnava (Hungarian: Nagyszombat, German: Tyrnau, Romanian: Târnavia, Latin: Tyrnavia) served until the 1680s as an outpost of baroque Catholic culture only a few miles from the Ottoman frontier. After the retreat of the Turks following the Siege of Vienna in 1683 the town continued as the home of the most influential presses and schools in Hungary until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Although at some distance from what has been called the “frontier of faith” where Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Muslim populations rubbed shoulders, Trnava, where Jesuits had first arrived in 1561, remained the jumping off point for Jesuit missionaries bound for the east and south well into the eighteenth century.¹⁰

The Trnava press, established in 1648, performed several functions crucial to the Society's universal enterprise. It was the producer of religious texts that propagated and supported the Jesuit project of reclaiming Hungary for Catholicism,¹¹ and which aided the Society's forays into non-Catholic regions

- 6 Robert Paul Magocsi & Bohdan Struminsky, ‘The first Carpatho-Ruthenian printed book’, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 25/3 (1977), pp. 292–309.
- 7 Hadrian Radványi, ‘Knižnica a knihtlačiareň v trnavskej universite’, in Viliam Čičaj (ed.), *Trnavská Univerzita v slovenských dejinách* (Bratislava, Veda, 1987), pp. 209–221.
- 8 Herman Egyed, *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig* (Munich, Aurora, 1973), p. 250. See also Viliam Čičaj, ‘The period of religious disturbances in Slovakia’, in Mikuláš Teich, Dušan Kováč & Martin D. Brown (eds.), *Slovakia in history* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 71–86: p. 82. Trnava was also the site of a ‘National Synod’ of Uniate clergy in 1648. Nicolaus Nilles, *Symbolae ad Illustrandam Historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in Terris Coronae S. Stephani* (Oeniponte, F. Rausch, 1884), p. 178.
- 9 One of these schools, the *Adalbertinum*, admitted three students from the Uniate Seminary in Mukacheve annually. Nilles, *Symbolae*, p. 854.
- 10 Ladislaus Lukács, *Catalogi Personarum et Officiorum Provinciae Austriae S.I.II (1601–1640)* (Rome, Institutum Historicum S.I. 1982), *passim*.
- 11 Representative of such works is *Lelki paradicsom Mely Sok-Féle Lelki Kertekből o'eszveszedettett taplalo gyu'mo'cs-fakkal...* (Nyomtatattott M.DCC. Esztendo'ben). *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* 1572.

such as Moldavia, Serbia and Crimean Tatar. Texts used in the network of Jesuit schools lying to the east were also printed in Trnava,¹² as were lavishly illustrated emblem volumes,¹³ devotional works¹⁴ and practical works that advised clergy on how to deal with women accused of witchcraft who entered the confessional, or which provided visual aids to help determine which marriages between blood relatives were licit.¹⁵ Other products included a history of Bosnia by a Jesuit-trained Croatian.¹⁶ The Trnava press was also one of the very few Jesuit presses whose publications attempt to engage Muslims, producing Christophorus Peichich's *Mahometanus dogmaticae, et catechetice in lege Christi...* parts of which appear to have been especially directed towards women.¹⁷ At the same time the baroque aesthetic favoured by the House of Habsburg and expressed in Jesuit architecture and interior design was reflected in the design of these books. Representative of this aesthetic is the title page of Franciscus Kazy's history of the Trnava University, *Historia Universitatis Tyrnaviensis* (Tyrnaviae, Typis Academicis, 1737) (Fig. 18.1).¹⁸

The Trnava press produced more than 4,500 titles, including works in Latin, German, Hungarian, Romanian, Italian and in Slavic languages,¹⁹ scientific works, and even an irreverent piece of fiction based on the Chinese Rites

- 12 E.g., Andreas Jaszlinszky, *Institutiones physicae pars prima, seu physica generalis* (Tyrnaviae, Typ. Academicis Soc. Jesu, 1756).
- 13 Peter Maurice Daly & G. Richard Dimler, *The Jesuit series. Part three* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 98–99.
- 14 Tüskés Gábor and Knapp Éva, 'Cimlap-Illusztráció egy 17. századi magyar jezsuita szerző aszketikus munkáiban (kilenc képpel)', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 107/3 (1991), pp. 230–257: p. 267.
- 15 Franciscus Herzig, *Manuale confessarii seu methodus compendiosa munus confessarii rite obeundi* (Tyrnaviae, Typ. Ac., 1744); *Imperatores Ottomanici a capta Constantinopoli, cum epitome principum Turcarum. A P. Nicolao Schmitth, e soc. Jesu concinati* (2 vols., Tyrnaviae, Typis Academicis Soc. Jesu, 1760–1761).
- 16 Pavao Ritter Vitezović, *Bosna captiva sive Regnum et Interitus Stephani ultimi Bosnae Regis* (Tyrnaivae. Typis Academicis, per Joannem Henricum Geich, 1713).
- 17 Christophorus Peichich, *Mahometanus dogmaticae et catechetice in lege Christi, alcorano suffragante instructus* (Tyrnaviae, F. Gall, 1730).
- 18 See also L. Szilas, 'Kazy Ferenc', in Charles E. O'Neill & Joaquín María Domínguez (eds.), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-temático* (4 vols., Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), vol. 3, p. 2181.
- 19 T. Spáčil, 'Universitas Tyrnaviensis in Slovachia et catholici ritus orientalis', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 3 (1937), pp. 275–278: p. 275; Radváni, 'Knižnica', p. 215. The Trnava press also published Ioannes Sajnovics' groundbreaking study on the connections between the Hungarian and Sámi (Lapp) languages, *Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Laponum idem esse* (Tyrnaviae, Typis Collegii Academici Societatis Jesu, 1770).

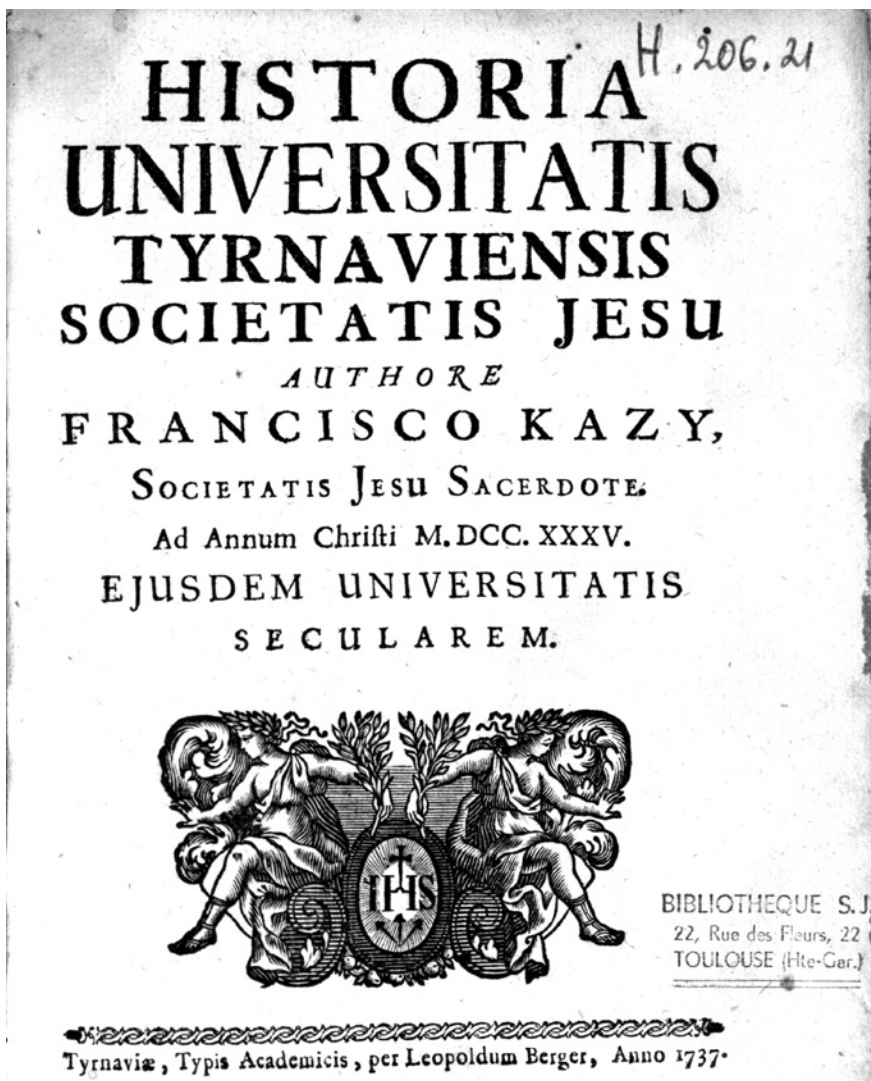


FIGURE 18.1 *Title page of Franciscus Kazy's, Historia Universitatis Tyrnaviensis (Tyrnavia, Typis Academicis, 1737)*
COURTESY OF SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES SPECIAL
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controversy that had crippled the Jesuit mission to the Middle Kingdom.²⁰ The total number of copies produced by this press stretched into the millions, this making it a major exponent of baroque Catholic culture, devotion and learning, as well as an instrument expressing Jesuit objectives and preoccupations, throughout a vast region to the east.²¹

The reputed author of *Katekhis* was Joseph De Camelis (1641–1706), the Greek-Catholic or Uniate bishop of Ruthenia and a Basilite monk.²² There is no evidence that De Camelis, a native of Chios trained in Rome, understood Rusyn or even Old Church Slavonic, the traditional liturgical language of the Ruthenian Church, but he did play a key role in the printing of the volume, writing the Latin text upon which it was based, and employing Slavonic type housed at the Jesuit press in Trnava.²³ Some years after his death, a catechism for Romanian Uniates, crediting him as author, was published, also in Trnava.²⁴ Perhaps unfairly, De Camelis was perceived as a tool of the Society: Eastern Rite clergy who accepted union with Rome were regarded by many who remained faithful to the Orthodox Church as opportunists or worse.²⁵ In such a climate the presentation of the message of union, whether in Transylvania (which had acquired a Uniate Church in 1690) or Ruthenia (where such a church had been theoretically in existence since the union of Brest in 1646 and which was formally instituted in 1689)²⁶ had to be made in such a way so as to reduce the anxiety of those who had joined it. Simultaneously the Uniate hierarchy sought to send the signal that the ecclesiastical order had changed and with it some elements in which devotion was expressed. Book design was one more way to reinforce this message.

20 *Reflexioines in Causa Sinesi facta in Europa, postquam ad illam pervenit Decretum Emin: Tournon Datum Nankini in Sinis 25. Januarii 1707* (n/p). The evidence supporting the theory that this volume was printed by the Trnava press is presented in Szőrényi László, *Studia Hungarolatina: tanulmányok a régi magyar és a neolatin irodalomról* (Budapest, Kortárs, 1999), p. 73.

21 Miriam Poriezová, 'Vydavateľsko-Knižničné katalógy Trnavskej Akademickej Tlačiarne', in *Problematika historických a vzácných knižných fondů* (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci et al., 2009), pp. 105–115; p. 106.

22 Ivan Pop, 'De Camelis, Joseph', in Paul Robert Magocsi & Ivan Pop (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Rusyn history and culture*, revised edition (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 89.

23 Hodinka Antal (ed.), *A munkácsi görög szertartású püspökség* (Ungvár, 1911), p. 413.

24 Iacob Mârza, Eva Mârza & Anton Rus, *Catehismul lui Iosif de Camilis, Trnava 1726* (Sibiu, Editura Imago, 2002).

25 Michael Lacko, *The Union of Užhorod* (Cleveland, The Slovak Institute, 1966), p. 164.

26 Ludovik Nemec, 'The Ruthenian Uniate Church in its historical perspective', *Church History*, 37/4 (1968), pp. 365–388; p. 383.

These aesthetic choices in Jesuit book design also point to a fierce competition among rival groups of book producers in what had previously been a region of importance in the world of European publishing. In the early seventeenth century the Calvinist presses of Transylvania had dominated book culture over an area stretching from Poland to Serbia, and were an expression of the intellectual life of this generally autonomous Principality.²⁷ The retreat of the Ottomans from the Danube Basin in the late 1680s and the passing of Transylvania under Habsburg rule a few years later meant that the literate Calvinist population of the Principality and of neighboring Hungary was now the object of concerted conversion efforts. Calvinist schools were closed and in some cases appropriated by the Jesuits, 'heretical' texts seized, Protestant printing presses made the property of the Jesuits²⁸ and non-Catholics confronted with civil disabilities. The Calvinist,²⁹ Unitarian³⁰ and Orthodox³¹ book cultures of these newly acquired territories and of Royal Hungary went into decline, while Jesuit presses now printed works by Protestant writers – but without demonstrating any overt sympathy for the religious beliefs of these authors.³² All this smacks of a very intolerant view of religious diversity, but for

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- 27 Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the frontier. International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 80–82: p. 148. See also G.F. Cushing, 'Books and readers in 18th-Century Hungary', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 47/108 (1969), pp. 57–77: p. 58.
- 28 A prominent Lutheran press in Levoča (Lőcse) appears to have been acquired by the Society and at least four publications by Jesuit authors are credited to it. Georgius Fejér, *Historia Academiae Scientiarum Pazmaniae Archi-episcopalis...* (Budae, Typis Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1835), p. 32; Joannes Nepomuk Stoeger, *Scriptores Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu* (Viennae, Typis Congr. Mechit., 1855), pp. 141, 157, 392.
- 29 The Calvinist press in Sárospatak, one of the most important in Hungary, was suppressed in 1671. Takács Béla, *A sárospataki nyomda története*, <http://www.elib.hu/01600/01648/01648.htm>, accessed 27 February 2012. A press located in Keresd castle, Transylvania, operated for six years until 1690, while the Calvinist press in Debrecen was taken over by the municipality in 1723. V. Ecsedy Judit, 'Nyomda a keresdi várkastélyben', *Magyar Grafika*, 5 (2009), pp. 71–78; Cushing, 'Books and readers', p. 69.
- 30 No Unitarian presses operated in Transylvania after 1704. George M. Williams, 'Treason or history. When artifacts contradict the national myth', *unitarius.uw.hu/cffr/essays/gwilliams.htm*, accessed 27 February 2012.
- 31 A few Orthodox catechisms continued to be produced after Austria gained control over Transylvania. Milan Grba and Paul Shore, 'A recently identified seventeenth century Romanian catechism in the British Library', *Valahian Journal of Historical Studies*, 13 (2010), pp. 7–10.
- 32 For example, Jan Amos Comenius, *Janua Linguarum Vestibulum quo primus ad Latinam aditus tyrunculis paratur, cum versione interlineali Hungarica, et Germanica* (Claudiopoli,

the Jesuits this programme of expansion and consolidation did not always translate into a comparable hostility toward linguistic variety. By employing a Cyrillic typeface, and all the cultural associations that came with it, De Camelis and his Jesuit backers were acknowledging a linguistic diversity in ways that their colleagues in nearby Transylvania – as well as the clergy of other confessions living there – often did not.³³

In this setting of inter-confessional strife the Ruthenian Uniate Church served both as an attempted bridge between Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic models of devotion and iconography and as a component of the much more ambitious Jesuit programme to bring all of Eastern Christianity into union with Rome.³⁴ The church was also a vehicle by which the small, Rusyn-speaking population of the region could maintain an identity in the turbulent environment of Habsburg Hungary and Transylvania, which witnessed several rebellions against the dynasty and Tatar incursions as late as 1717.³⁵ *Katekhisys*, while undoubtedly an instrument of a Church whose new patrons were to be found in Vienna and not to the east,³⁶ was also a concrete acknowledgement of the existence of a distinct linguistic and confessional community whose roots lay with the millennium-old Eastern Orthodox churches. The political location of this communal identity was not always clearly defined: despite support of the bishop of the Ruthenian Church for the House of Habsburg, Francis II Rákóczi, the most successful rival of the dynasty and a

Typ. Acad., 1768); Johann Georg Schwandner and Mátyás Bél, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres, ac genuini: partim primum ex tenebris eruti, partim antehac quidem editi: nunc vero ex MSS. Codicibus, & Rarissimis Editionibus Bibliothecae Augustae Vindobonensis...notis Illustrati*. Ps. 1 (Tyrnaviae, Typis Collegii Academici Societatis Jesu, 1765).

33 In 1656 a Romanian language Calvinist catechism was printed in Alba Iulia, but this work used Latin type and Hungarian orthography, greatly reducing its accessibility to Romanian speakers. Dennis Deletant, 'Romanian presses and printing in the seventeenth century: II', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 61/4 (1983), pp. 481–511: p. 492.

34 This plan was put forth in the "Schema Unionis" of the Jesuit Franciscus Ravasz to Cardinal Leopold Kollonich in 1687. Nilles, *Symbolae*, pp. 780–796.

35 Fogarassy Zoltán, 'Az utolsó tatárjárás Magyarországon', *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Szemle*, 42/1 (2007), pp. 304–319.

36 Leopold I emancipated Uniate priests, their families, places of worship and residences from servile burdens that they had borne as Orthodox clergy thereby radically changing the prospects of the next generation of priests for advanced education. Béla Király, 'The Hungarian church', in William James Callahan & David Higgs (eds.), *Church and society in Catholic Europe of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 106–121: p. 113.

Roman Catholic, is said to have called the Rusyn his “gens fidelissima”.³⁷ Yet the Rusyn Church has remained to the present day in union with Rome, while the ethnic and linguistic parameters of the Rusyn continue to be debated.

Fig. 18.2 shows the title page of *Katekhis*. In its use of a simple and short title (by baroque standards) it bears a resemblance to contemporaneous Romanian/Cyrillic religious texts produced in Transylvania, but several features distinguish it from these. The woodcut contains both a form of the monogram of Christ virtually identical to those used by the Society, and, more tellingly, a heart marked with the three symbolic nails of the Crucifixion. In Fig. 18.3 a Jesuit monogram on the title page of a 1606 edition of the *Ratio Studiorum*, the Jesuit curricular guide, displays a marked similarity to that of *Katekhis*.³⁸

The putti or angels are primitively executed, but these inoffensive figures (the one on the left seems slightly portly) clearly are closely modeled after examples referencing the House of Habsburg and Tridentine Catholicism rather than on the often austere expressioned, brightly attired and long winged angels common to Orthodox art. Symmetry and an at least passing resemblance to late baroque decorative models are also evident. Finally, the publisher of *Katekhis* is identified (in the instrumental case) as Tipom Akadem. ōd'mene An'dreâ Goermanna, which is identical with the Latin Typis Academicis Johannes Andreas Hörmann, the imprint of the Trnava Jesuit press from 1694 until 1701.³⁹

This is therefore a book whose symbolic identification, reputed author and publication details indicate that the volume was produced by the leading Jesuit press of the eastern Habsburg lands, something the reading public of the day would have immediately recognised. Several observations follow from these facts. First, while the baroque Society strove to engage the cultures it encountered, in a process now denominated “inculturation”,⁴⁰ one of its goals in the Habsburg east was to introduce a new symbolic and specifically emblematic vocabulary into both their catechistic work and into school curricula.⁴¹ Far more than merely a change in artistic style, the introduction of Jesuit

37 Hodinka Antal, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem és a “gens fidelissima”* (Pécs, Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó, 1937).

38 *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* (Rome, Collegium Romanum, 1606).

39 Szabó Károly, ‘Régi Magyar Könyvtárának II. Kötete’, *Magyar könyvszemle*, 11/1–6 (1886), pp. 206–219; p. 211.

40 Eugenio Lo Sardo, ‘Kircher’s Rome’, in Paula Findlen (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher. The last man who knew everything* (New York, Routledge 2004), pp. 51–62; p. 60.

41 Paul F. Gehl, ‘7.13 Jesuit Emblems’, in *Humanism for Sale: Making and Marketing Textbooks in Italy, 1450–1650*, www.humanismforsale/text/archives/387, accessed 26 November 2012.

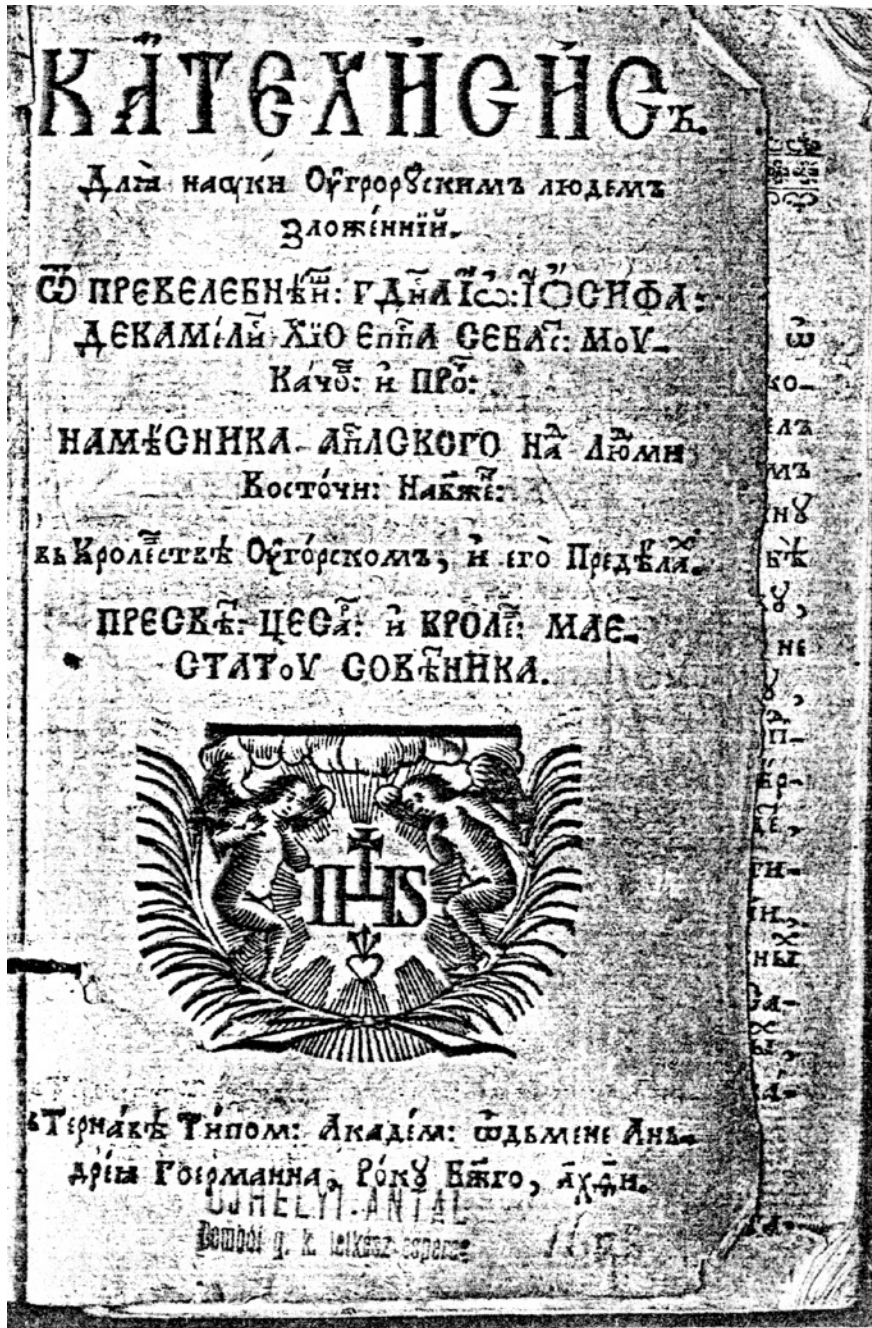


FIGURE 18.2 Title page of Katekhis (Trnava, 1698)

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FIGURE 18.3 *Jesuit monogram on the title page of a 1606 edition of the Ratio Studiorum*
COURTESY OF SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

emblematic models presented a new set of associations that reflected the Habsburg position in which religious conformity was linked with dynastic loyalty at a moment when the Habsburgs were about to face in Francis II Rákóczi their most serious challenge to control of Hungary and Transylvania. This time of crisis also saw the longstanding presence of the dynasty in Western Europe come to an end with the failure of Charles VI to secure the throne of Spain. The use of Jesuit symbolism and rhetorical presentation, however simplified, likewise created a link to elite cultures based far to the west – as well as elsewhere throughout the world – and to the sophisticated use of images that Jesuit emblem designers and poets had practiced for more than a century.⁴² Jesuit emblematics, like the models of rhetoric and poetry taught in the Society's schools, constituted a mode of communication closely linked with the 'universal enterprise' that Jesuits had developed by the mid-seventeenth century and which enabled absolvents of one Jesuit school to engage the literary output of the Society, wherever its origin. *Katekhesis* therefore is identified with a potent worldwide cultural campaign.

Secondly, a comparison may be made between *Katekhesis* and another volume produced by a Jesuit press for the instruction of Uniates, *Elementa puerilis institutionis in lingua latina* (*Nachalo pismen dětem k nastaveníu na latinském ťazykě*) (Claudiopoli, typis Academ. Soc. Jesu per Andream Feii, 1746).⁴³ Both books contain elements of Ruthenian and both strive to set out the differences between Orthodox and Uniate doctrine. The credited author of *Elementa*, Manujil Ol'savs'kyj (Olsavszky) (c. 1700–1767) was a product of Jesuit training and, like De Camelis, a Ruthenian Uniate bishop.⁴⁴ Although the connection to the Society is more explicit here, the attempts to span the language gap and to promote literacy while reinforcing doctrinal conformity (and thus by implication, political reliability) are much the same as are found in *Katekhesis*. In a similar fashion the Jesuit Franciscus Szunyog composed a catechism in Romanian (which then used a Cyrillic alphabet) that was printed in Trnava.⁴⁵ In each of these cases the catechisms were intended for readers who already had some formal education and would thus have been almost inaccessible to

42 Mario Praz, *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery* (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1975), pp. 145ff.

43 Paul Shore, *Jesuits and the politics of religious pluralism in eighteenth-century Transylvania* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006), p. 154.

44 Nilles, *Symbolae*, pp. 551–573; Sztripszky Hiador, 'A hazai rutének legrégibb nyomtatványai II', *Magyar Könyvszemle Új foylam*, 19/3 (1911), pp. 243–262: p. 249.

45 *Catechismus Valachicus Maior Romano-Catholicus* (Tyrnaviæ, 1696). *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*, II, 1864. See also Bor Kálmán, 'Elfeledett nagyszombati cirill betűs nyomtatvány 1724-ből', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 111/3 (1995), pp. 319–322.

the majority of believers.⁴⁶ Such a bias doubtless reflects the Austrian Society's focus on elites, or at least on the literate and town dwelling sections of a population. The publication of *Katekhis* also reveals the Society's preference for producing material objects that demonstrated its aims and accomplishments. Yet overstretched resources and a lack of engagement with Rusyn culture also blunted the effectiveness of Jesuit publishing efforts. Thus the isolated nature of this catechism points up the limits both of Jesuit vision and of the material support for such ventures.

The Society's programme in eastern-central Europe was a coordinated effort combining formal schooling, rural missions, literary and scientific undertakings, and the fostering of unions of linguistically and ethnically-based Eastern Rite churches with Rome whose leaders would be educated in Jesuit schools and thereby remain allies of the Society.⁴⁷ *Katekhis* reflects the integrated nature of this enterprise as well as the abiding interest of the Jesuits in utilising the vernacular as a tool to further their goals.⁴⁸ The case of *Katekhis* is however unique in that although the Society demonstrated sufficient interest in the Rusyn language to involve a Uniate monk knowledgeable in it to prepare the text,⁴⁹ no record survives from the more than two centuries that the pre-Suppression Society labored in Hungary of a single Jesuit able to use Rusyn.⁵⁰ *Katekhis* therefore demonstrates a variation of the Society's programme of propagating and rationalising written forms of the languages of peoples they encountered through thorough scholarship.⁵¹ Here the Society extended the principle of use of the local vernacular to include the employment of allies

46 Elaine Rusinko, *Straddling borders. Literature and identity in Subcarpathian Rus'* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 93.

47 These themes are explored in Paul Shore, *Narratives of adversity. Jesuits on the eastern periphery of the Habsburg realms (1640–1773)* (Budapest, CEU Press, 2012).

48 The Society had already permitted Mass to be celebrated in a number of tongues including Mandarin, Greek, Abyssinian and Syrian. Albert Chan, S.J., *Chinese books and documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. A descriptive catalogue* (Armonk, NY, M.E. Sharpe, 2002), p. 211.

49 Ivan Kornyc'kyj, a Galician who Magocsi points out also authored *Boukvar jazyka Slavěnska* (1691). For the Polonisms in *Katekhis* see Magocsi & Struminsk'yj, 'The first Carpatho-Ruthenian printed book', p. 307 and Andrii Danylenko, 'The formation of a New Standard Ukrainian. From the history of an undeclared contest between Right- and Left Bank Ukrainian in the 18th c.', *Die Welt der Slaven*, 53 (2008), pp. 82–115; p. 89.

50 However the *Historia* of the Jesuit *collegium* in Uzhgorod, relates that in 1705 Ruthenian Uniate priests conducted services in their own language. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, folio 29v, Jezsuita Rendtartományi Levéltár, Budapest.

51 E.g., Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *Catecismo de la lengua guaraní* (En Madrid, Por D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1640).

who were not even members of the Roman Church.⁵² The complexities involved in this tactic were increased by the fact that many Jesuits working in the region did not hold East Slavic (or Romanian) cultures in high regard, a consequence as well as a cause of the general Jesuit ignorance of the Rusyn tongue.⁵³ An additional factor inhibiting Jesuit book production for Uniate audiences may be the tension between what Harvey Whitehouse has called “doctrinal versus imagistic modes” of religion.⁵⁴ The Uniate faithful who encountered *Katechysis* for the first time had deep experience with visual representation of the sacred, and with a liturgy that even after union with Rome had remained in Old Church Slavonic. Their experience of the relation of the vernacular to religious practice and instruction was essentially different from that of neighboring Roman Catholic Hungarian speakers, who had heard their own language as well as Latin used in religiously-themed plays for almost a century.⁵⁵ The Jesuit promoted union did not attack either the veneration of icons or the importance of the global visual impact of Ruthenian church interiors (nor did union do away with other nonverbal aspects of religious experience such as incense or the muffled sounds of singing). But union with Rome did elevate the importance of the written word, an addition that did not always catch on quickly with laypersons steeped in other traditions.

Finally, a characteristic feature of the eighteenth-century Society’s Austrian Province came into play. Despite many brilliant achievements in the mastery

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- 52 It is also noteworthy that Cardinal Kollonich, a prime mover in the advancement of the Uniate Churches, opposed the appointment of a bishop to the Ruthenian Uniate who came from the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of Kiev. De Camelis, as the sponsor, if not literally the author of *Katekhis* was therefore deliberately selected because of his political distance from conditions in Transcarpathia, and thus was distanced from the culture of the region as well. Magocsi & Struminsky, ‘The first Carpatho-Ruthenian printed book’, p. 298.
- 53 Rusinko, *Straddling borders*, p. 50. The local customs mentioned in *Katekhis* doubtless reinforced the impression the Jesuits advisors of De Camelis had of the Rusyn being an unsophisticated and even barbarous people. We are told, for example, that no one is permitted to beat a Uniate clergyman! Prejudice on the part of ethnic Hungarian Jesuits towards Rusyn may also have played a role. Magocsi & Struminsky, ‘The first Carpatho-Ruthenian printed book’, p. 308.
- 54 Harvey Whitehouse, ‘Theorizing religions past’, in Harvey Whitehouse & Luther H. Martin (eds.), *Theorizing religions past. Archeology, history and cognition* (Walnut Creek, CA, Alta Mira Press, 2004), pp. 215–232.
- 55 No Jesuit plays utilising Rusyn are known, but a Hungarian language drama was staged in Vágssellye as early as 1601. Staud Géza, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai* (3 vols., Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtáranak Kiadása, 1984–1988), vol. I, p. 342.

and rationalisation of languages in the region known in Jesuit documents as 'the Indies', the Society's engagement with the languages of the eastern Austrian Province was much less robust. Not only did Jesuits fail to take up the systematic study of Rusyn, but Jesuit engagement with much larger language groups such as Serbian,⁵⁶ Ottoman Turkish, and most notably, Romanian, was far from impressive. The causes for this disengagement from an activity long associated with Jesuit apostolic labors are complex, and include shifts in recruitment patterns, a refocusing of emphasis on the maintenance of already established schools and *residentiae*, and perhaps also ethnic biases. The increase during the eighteenth century in Hungarian language publication emanating from the Society's press must also be considered,⁵⁷ as it sheds light on the growing national awareness of Hungarian-speaking Jesuits, something negatively affecting the production of works in other languages spoken in the region. The direction of Jesuit talent into scientific fields such as astronomy further diluted the manpower available to analyse and master the Rusyn language.

The Jesuit attempt to develop an embryonic book culture exhibiting a fusion of "Danubian baroque" and Orthodox-derived devotional and aesthetic elements met with modest success.⁵⁸ More than a century after the appearance of *Katekhis* a Jesuit-trained Ruthenian Basilite monk and historian Joannicus Basilovits (Ioanykii Bazylovych) produced a devotional work whose frontispiece of a crucified monk combines images of Catholic baroque devotional art (an armed Cupid, a decorative cartouche with scriptural verse in Latin) with a hovering Christ figure sharing many features of religious art of the Eastern church (Fig. 18.4).⁵⁹

But by the time Basilovits's book had appeared the Society of Jesus had been suppressed for almost 30 years, and would never again sponsor either a significant publishing programme or a distinct aesthetic model in the Danube Basin.

56 Efforts by Czech-speaking Jesuits to communicate in Belgrade in their own native tongue were a notable failure. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.*, 1727, folio 17v, B. V. P. 12.265, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

57 Indicative of this trend is the Hungarian language history of Andreas Spangár, *A' Magyar Kronikanak a mellyet elsőben meg-írt s' kibocsátott nemzetes Petthő Gergely...373. esztendőűl 1623. esztendeig...* (Nyomtatott Cassan az Akademiál betőkkkel P. Jesuitáknál, 1734).

58 This term ("dunai barokk" in Hungarian) was coined by art historian Voit Pál to describe the transnational style associated with ecclesiastical and governmental architecture introduced by the Habsburgs beginning in the 1680s. Voit Pál, *A barokk Magyarországon* (Budapest, Corvina Kiadó, 1970).

59 Joannicus Basilovits, *Imago Vita Monasticae* (Cassoviae, Ex Typographia Ellengeriana, 1802).

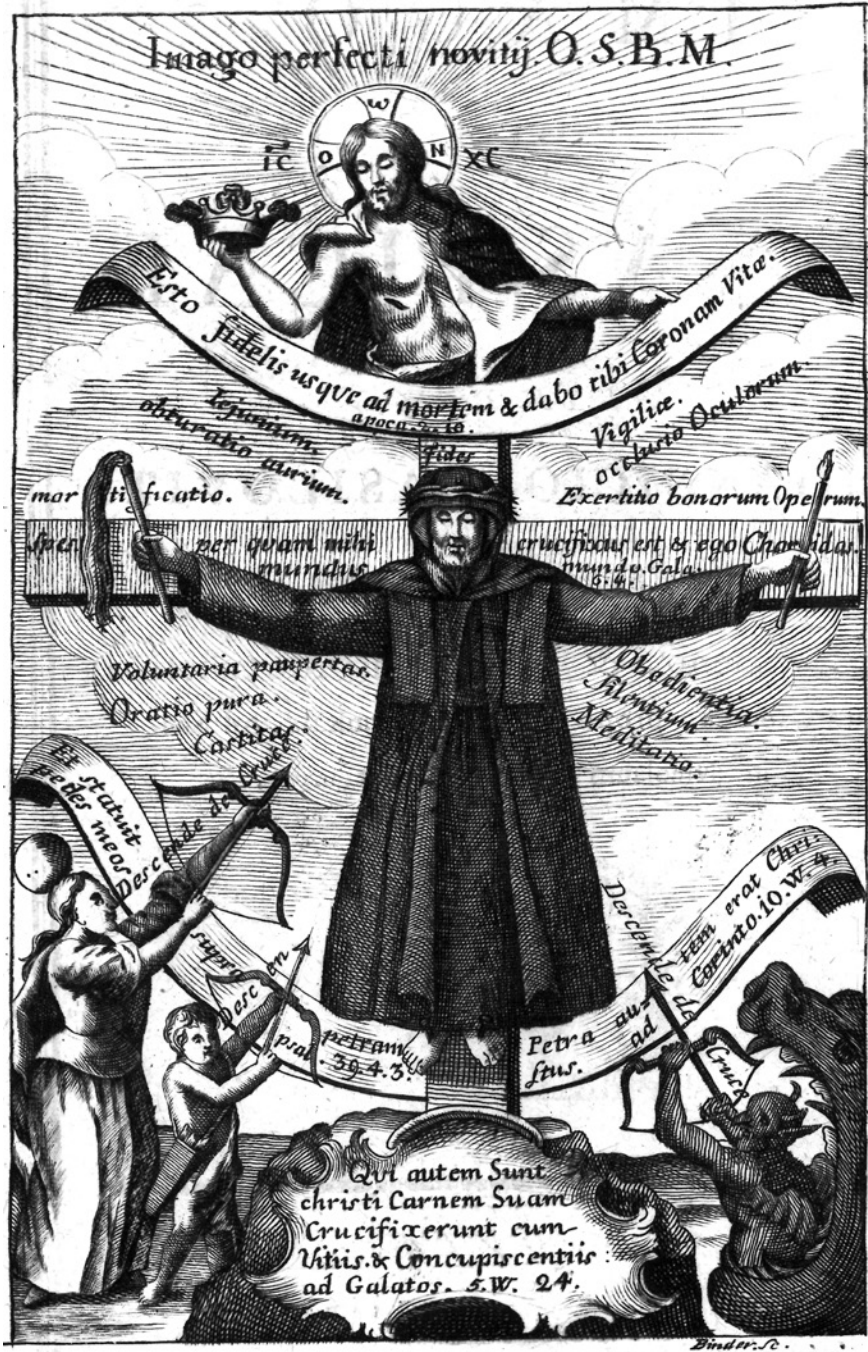


FIGURE 18.4 Title page of Basilovits, Imago Vita Monasticae (Cassovia, 1802)
IMAGE REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE BIBLIOTECA DE MONTserrat

In the Napoleonic era the necessity to cultivate a hybrid of Habsburg Catholic and Orthodox visual aesthetics or literary cultures in the lands east of the Leitha likewise had disappeared for good, for unlike the Holy Roman Empire, the refurbished and no longer sacral 'Austrian Empire' of the nineteenth century had no need to link loyalty to the dynasty to Catholic conformity. The "patriot for me" that the Emperor Francis I sought did not have to demonstrate either confessional orthopraxy or engagement with any literate culture.⁶⁰ And the era of unions of Eastern Rite believers with Rome would be followed by a time of turbulent nationalist passions that would carry book culture in the eastern Habsburg lands in new and unforeseen directions.

60 Cited in Robert Cole, *A.J.P. Taylor: The traitor within the gates* (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1993), p. 244.

European Books for the Ottoman Market

Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik

Introduction

In addition to Islamic drawings, miniatures and works of calligraphers specific Ottoman albums – the so-called *muraqqa*'s¹ – in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library in Istanbul also contain European engravings from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the *Yaqub Bey album*, for instance, there are Florentine prints from the 1460s and 1470s.² Other *muraqqa*'s contain engravings by the German engraver Hans Brosamer (with a scene from the Old Testament story of Samson and Delilah) or the Flemish publisher Johannes Wierix (with a theme of the 'Last Supper') from the mid-sixteenth and second half of the sixteenth century respectively.³ So, contrary to the Ottoman's

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- 1 See Basil William Robinson, 'muraqqa', in C. E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), *The encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden/New York, Brill, 1993), pp. 602–603.
- 2 It is generally assumed that these prints were acquired during the reign of Mehmed II (1451–1481) who had good relations with Lorenzo de Medici and kept generally on very good terms with the Florentines. In the late 1460s, for instance, there were about 50 Florentine houses trading in and with the Ottoman Empire. See Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The classical age 1300–1600* (London, Phoenix, 1994), p. 135. Mehmed II, however, had explicitly encouraged cultural contacts between the Ottoman Empire and the Italian territories. In addition to the above mentioned Florentine engravings, Italian maps as well as a great number of scientific books in various languages in the fields of geography, history, philosophy and medicine reached the palace library in this period. See Julian Raby, 'Mehmed II Fatih and the Fatih Album', *Islamic Art*, I (1981), pp. 44–46; Ibid., 'A sultan of paradox. Mehmed the conqueror as a patron of the arts', *Oxford Arts Journal*, 1 (1982), pp. 3–8; Günsel Renda, 'Europe and the Ottomans. Interactions in art', in H. İnalcık & G. Renda (eds.), *Ottoman civilisation* (Ankara, Ministry of Culture, 2002), pp. 1048–1089.
- 3 Ali Nihat Kundak, 'An Ottoman album of drawings including European engravings (TSMK, H. 2135)', in G. Dávid & I. Gerelyes (eds.), *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art. Proceedings* (Budapest: Hung. Nat. Museum, 2009), pp. 429–430: p. 432. With regard to artistic contacts and cultural exchange processes between the Ottoman court and Europe during the reign of Süleyman I (1520–1566) see Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the representation of power in the context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal rivalry', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXI/ 3 (1989), pp. 402–427.

supposed lack of interest and knowledge about Europe and European printed materials these engravings document close cultural and mercantile ties between the Ottoman Empire and the European book market.

Nevertheless, until recent times research into the interrelations between the Ottoman Empire and 'the world around it' concentrated primarily on territorial strategies and on political and military conflicts.⁴ Following the tradition of nineteenth-century orientalist scholarship, the *diversity* of the Ottoman world was emphasised together with its inferiority in culture and religion. The encounters between the Ottoman Empire and 'Europe' were delineated according to the Orientalist dichotomy of a 'Muslim' versus 'Christian' world. Furthermore, the stereotypical image was stressed of the Ottoman civilisation as static and averse to the adoption of new (Western/European) ideas and techniques forbidden by religious law.⁵ In that context aniconism of Islam in general and the religious practice of avoiding any printing press and printed materials in particular were stressed for a long time.

Recent studies, however, show that the Ottomans were far from being prisoners to the 'extreme conservatism of Islam' as suggested by the representatives of the traditional Eurocentric paradigm. Moreover, these studies also argue for the Ottomans' centrality to the Renaissance and the early modern era by looking at *shared* patterns. According to this the Ottomans were not passive observers but active creators/agents of political and 'global' economic systems of that time.⁶ Therefore, the paper's hypothesis is that the Ottoman Empire did

4 See Pál Fodor (ed.), *In quest of the Golden Apple. Imperial ideology, politics and military administration in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, Isis, 2000); John Elliott, 'Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry. The European perspective', in H. İnalcık & C. Kafadar (eds.), *Süleyman the Second and his time* (Istanbul, Isis, 1993), pp. 153–162; Géza Dávid & Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe* (Leiden, Brill, 2000).

5 See for instance Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the seventeenth century* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1991); Bernard Lewis, *What went wrong? The clash between Islam and modernity in the Middle East* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2002); *Ibid.*, *The Muslim discovery of Europe* (New York et al, Norton, 2001).

6 To these new approaches see Virginia H. Aksan & Daniel Goffman, 'Introduction. Situating the early modern Ottoman world', in V. H. Aksan & D. Goffman (eds.), *The early modern Ottomans. Remapping the Empire* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 7; Rhoads Murphey, 'The Ottoman attitude towards the adaptation of Western technology. The role of the *efrencî* technicians in civil and military applications', in Rhoads Murphey (ed.), *Studies on Ottoman society and culture, 16th–18th centuries* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007), p. 296; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 4–6; Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the world around it* (London/New York, Tauris, 2007).

not resist all forms of Western innovation in the early modern period: similar to the adoption of firearms technology⁷ the adoption or rejection of new European communication practices via printed media had little to do with Islam. Rather, it was a pragmatic decision influenced by political and military objectives as well as social and economic factors. Ottoman Empire was, therefore, an integrated part of the early modern book world.

The Ottoman Market

How and why did the empire of the '*hostis naturalis*' or '*antemurale Christianitatis*' – as Ottomans were often called in early modern broadsheets and books⁸ – attract the attention and commercial interest of European printers and publishers?

The Ottoman Empire was much more culturally heterogeneous than European states of the early modern era. In the first half of the sixteenth century it included large territories spanning three continents with 12–13 million inhabitants⁹ growing to 15–20 million in the latter part of that century.¹⁰ Furthermore, besides the core lands in the Balkans, Anatolia and provinces in the Middle East and North Africa non-Muslim rulers who had accepted to pay tribute to the sultan were also considered part of the Ottoman Empire: the city-state of Ragusa, the principalities of Moldavia, Transylvania and Walachia and the Khanate of the Crimean-Tatars.¹¹ The Ottoman capital Istanbul as well

7 In more detail see for instance: Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan. Military power and the weapons industry in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 7–13.

8 For more detail on this topic see Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, 'Reale oder gemachte Angst? Türkengefahr und Türkenpropaganda im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in H. Heppner & Zs. Barbarics-Hermanik (eds.), *Türkenangst und Festungsbau. Wirklichkeit und Mythos* (Frankfurt, Lang, 2009), pp. 43–75.

9 See Halil İnalcık, 'The Ottoman state. Economy and society, 1300–1600', in H. İnalcık & D. Quataert (eds.), *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 29.

10 See Pál Fodor, 'Állandóság és változás az oszmán történelemben', in P. Fodor (ed.), *A szultán és az aranyalma. Tanulmányok az oszmán történelemről* (Budapest, Balassi, 2001), p. 21.

11 In more detail see Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 2; Gábor Ágoston, 'A flexible empire. Authority and its limits on the Ottoman frontiers', *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9/1–2 (2003), pp. 15–29; Viorel Panaite, 'Power relationships in the Ottoman Empire. The sultans and the tribute-paying Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century', *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 7/1–2 (2001), pp. 26–53.

as further metropolises and regional centres of the empire were cross-roads of both trade and culture where people of diverse origin met and interacted.¹² The markets of Istanbul displayed goods from all over the globe; its shops were stuffed with rare and exquisite merchandise – also with books.¹³ This metropolis with a large number of libraries can be considered as the centre of the Ottoman book market as well.¹⁴

Although the Ottoman sultans represented themselves as the supreme rulers of the 'Islamic world' in the sixteenth century¹⁵ not all inhabitants of the empire were Muslims: there existed more or less compact Jewish, Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, Armenian-Catholic and Protestant communities. These non-Muslim tax-paying subjects were called *zimmis* or *ahl al-kitab* (= people of the book). These religious communities enjoyed internal autonomy and freedom of worship in their own languages.¹⁶ This is one of the reasons why specialised European printers and publishers – as we will see later – focused first of all on them.

Although *zimmis* were permitted to establish printing houses and to print books in different languages, they could not do so in Arabic and in Ottoman-Turkish. The first printing house using a Hebrew typeface was established in

12 To the role of metropolises and frontier zones in cultural exchange generally see Peter Burke, *Cultural hybridity* (Cambridge, Polity, 2009), pp. 72–77.

13 The commercial power of the city is emphasised by the sixteenth-century Ottoman writer, Latifi. He described Istanbul as a city where "the buyers and the sellers of the market of the world all come together". See Latifi, *Evsaf-ı İstanbul*, ed. Nermin Suner Perkin (Istanbul, Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1977), p. 42. See Ebru Boyar & Kate Fleet, *A social history of Ottoman Istanbul* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 157.

14 The royal Ottoman library in Topkapı, for instance, already contained a number of incunabula by the end of the reign of Mehmed II (1451–1481). See Klaus Kreiser, *The beginnings of printing in the Near and Middle East. Jews, Christians and Muslims* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2001), p. 13. Until the nineteenth century, however, the majority of the books in these libraries were manuscript ones. One has also to mention to the public libraries of Salonica in the sixteenth century. See Avigdor Levy, 'Introduction', in A. Levy (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton/New Jersey, The Darwin Press, 1994), p. 37.

15 See Gábor Ágoston, 'Ideologie, Propaganda und politischer Pragmatismus. Die Auseinandersetzung der osmanischen und habsburgischen Großmächte und die mittel-europäische Konfrontation', in M. Fuchs, T. Oborni & G. Ujváry (eds.), *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Ein mitteleuropäischer Herrscher* (Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 2005), pp. 217–220.

16 See Gábor Ágoston, 'Az oszmán és az európai diplomácia a kölcsönösség felé vezető úton', in M. Nagy (ed.), *Híd a századok felett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára* (Pécs, University Press Pécs, 1997), pp. 83–84; Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam* (Rutherford, Fairhigh Dickinson University Press, 1985).

1493 in Istanbul;¹⁷ with a Cyrillic typeface in 1494 in Cetinje in today's Montenegro.¹⁸ Further Jewish printing houses followed during the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Salonica and Edirne/Adrianople in the European, in Safed and Damascus in the Asian, and in Cairo and Fez in the African territories of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ Printing in Cyrillic took place in the 1530s–1560s in several cities, towns and monasteries of the Ottoman Balkans,²⁰ from 1508 on in Trgovište in Walachia²¹ and in the 1540–1580s in Braşov/Kronstadt, Sibiu/Hermannstadt and Alba Iulia/

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- 17 Its first book, the first book ever published in the Ottoman Empire, was printed in 1494. It was a well-known code of laws called “Arba’ah Turim”. Morris Goldblatt emphasises that this book was very popular and was found in most homes. See Morris S. Goldblatt, *Jewish life in Turkey in the XVIth century* (New York, The Jewish Theological Seminar, 1952), pp. 107, 212. The founders of the printing house, the brothers David and Samuel ibn Nahmias, emigrated from the Iberian peninsula to the Ottoman Empire. See Levy, ‘Introduction’, p. 38. After an interruption between 1495 and 1505 they managed their printing house until 1511. In the most productive period for Jewish printers in Istanbul, between 1560 and 1598, about 120 books were published in the Ottoman capital. In more detail see Yaron Ben Na’eh, ‘Hebrew printing houses in the Ottoman Empire’, in G. Nassi (ed.), *Jewish journalism and printing houses in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey* (Istanbul, Isis Press, 2001), pp. 79–81.
- 18 Its first book “Oktoih prvoglasnik” (Octoechos) printed in January 1494 represents the earliest book printed in Cyrillic by South Slavic people. See Evgenij L. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift. 2. Die Druckereien des Makarije in der Walachei und von Giorgio Rusconi in Venedig* (Baden-Baden, Koerner, 1997), p. 7.
- 19 Contrary to the main centres of Jewish printing and culture in the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul (from 1493 on) and Salonica (from 1515 on), printing houses in other cities existed only for short periods: in Edirne/Adrianople between 1553 and 1555, in Safed between 1577 and 1587, in Cairo in 1557 and in Damascus in 1603. From 1657 on, however, Izmir became the third main centre of Jewish printing in the Ottoman Empire. In more detail see Na’eh, ‘Hebrew printing’, pp. 77–96.
- 20 For instance: in Goražde (from 1531 on) in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Belgrad (from 1552 on) in Serbia and in Shkodër (from 1563 on) in today's Albania. In addition to that at the monasteries of Rujan (from 1537 on), Mileševa (from 1544 on) and Mrkšina Crkva (from 1562 on) in today's Serbia and at the monastery of Gračanica in today's Kosovo (from 1539 on). See Werner Schmitz, *Südslawischer Buchdruck in Venedig (16.-18. Jahrhundert). Untersuchungen und Bibliographie* (Giessen, W. Schmitz Verlag, 1977), p. 283.
- 21 In the early sixteenth century in Wallachia the language of Orthodox worship was also Old Church Slavic. In Trgovište the following three liturgical texts were printed in Cyrillic: Služebnik (1508), Tetraevangelion (1512), Oktoich (1519). See Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke*, p. 7.

Gyulafehérvár in Transylvania,²² too. The first Armenian printing house was established in 1567 in Istanbul.²³ Protestant printing flourished in Transylvania from the 1540s on and there were a very few Protestant printers working in Ottoman Hungary.²⁴ So, the Ottomans and their non-Muslim subjects were familiar with printing in general and printed books in particular.

As further costumers of European books in the Ottoman Empire one has to refer to a special group: the so-called transcultural intermediaries. They were, for instance, renegades, scribes, merchants, Protestant migrants and clergymen, Jews and refugees. Many of them converted to Islam but did not completely lose their former identity and connections. Several of them purchased and read European books on a regular basis: in 1573 Tercüman Mahmud alias Sebald von Pribach, for example, ordered two copies of Abraham Ortelius's "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum" from Vienna.²⁵ This renegade penman was surprisingly up to date, since Ortelius's mapbook was first published in 1570.²⁶ His

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- 22 These printing houses were established by the Romanian/Wallachian deacons and printers Coresi (1557–1583 in Braşov), Lorinţ (1567–1572 in Braşov, 1578–1579 in Alba Iulia) and Philip (1544–1552 in Sibiu). They published Orthodox liturgical texts in Cyrillic characters in both Old Church Slavic and in Romanian with the permission of the Princes of Transylvania. In more detail see Gedeon Borsa, 'A XVI. századi magyarországi könyvnyomtatás részmérlege', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 3 (1973), pp. 249–269.
- 23 The founder of this first Armenian printing press was a printer in Venice before establishing his press in Istanbul. See Fatma Müge Göçek, *East encounters West. France and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century* (New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 111.
- 24 The main Protestant printing houses in Transylvania operated in Sibiu/Hermannstadt (from 1529 on), in Braşov/Kronstadt (from 1539 on), in Cluj Napoca/Klausenburg/Kolozsvár (from 1550 on), in Oradea/Várad (from 1565 on), and in Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár (from 1567 on). In more detail see Borsa, 'A XVI. századi magyarországi könyvnyomtatás', pp. 249–269.
- 25 He was born in Vienna as the son of the Jewish merchant Jacob von Pribach. So, he must have been familiar with European books and with the European book market before his conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire. In more detail see Ernst Dieter Petritsch, 'Der Habsburg-osmanischer Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 38 (1985), pp. 60–61.
- 26 David Ungnad, Habsburg permanent ambassador in Istanbul (1573–1578), asked the emperor for prescribing to purchase these books for Mahmud. Concerning that Wolf Sinnich, member of the Habsburg permanent embassy in Istanbul, wrote the following in a letter from 22 January 1574 to the head of the Hofkammer in Vienna: "...zwey Teatrum orbis, darinen allerley Landschafften und insulen zwey darin die stett gedruckt, die auch alle mit farben ausgestrichen seyen erkaufft und mit nechster present nach Constantinopel geschikht werden". See ÖStA, HHStA, Türkei I. Karton 30. Konv. 1. 1574 I–III, fol. 29.

colleague, the Transylvanian renegade and former student of Protestant theology Tercüman Murad alias Balázs Somlyai in 1556 explicitly asked the Habsburg administration to send no other gifts to him than printed books.²⁷ Furthermore, many men of South-Slavic origin who had entered the sultan's service via the 'levy of boys' (*devşirme*) were by no means cut off from their former homes, religion and languages.²⁸ For example, in the early 1580s one of the viziers and son-in-law of Sultan Murad III, Dāmād Ibrahim Pasha bought a Bible in the bookshop of a Jewish bookbinder in Istanbul, which had originally been printed in Venice in Serbian with Cyrillic typefaces.²⁹

Specialist Books for the Ottoman Market

Printing in South-Slavic languages had a long tradition in Venice. There, three different kinds of typefaces were developed and used in order to answer the high demand for religious texts in the Ottoman Balkans: Cyrillic, Glagolitian and the so-called "Bosančica" – a specific version of Cyrillic. From the late fifteenth century on in Venice there were several printers of Croatian and Serbian origin who had their own networks to distribute and sell their books in the Ottoman territories. The last will and the inventories of the printer and skilful merchant Božidar Vuković show, for example, that his main business partners were two merchants, his brother and brother-in-law in Ragusa/Dubrovnik.³⁰

27 See Pál Ács, 'Tarjumans Mahmud and Murad. Austrian and Hungarian renegades as Sultan's interpreters', in B. Guthmüller & W. Kühlmann, *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance* (Tübingen, De Gruyter, 2000), p. 315.

28 See Suraiya Faruqi, *Subjects of the Sultan. Culture and daily life in the Ottoman Empire* (London/New York, Tauris, 2010), p. 62.

29 See Ralf C. Müller, *Franken im Osten. Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten* (Leipzig, Eudora-Verlag, 2005), p. 216. Dāmād Ibrahim Pasha was born in Novi Šeher in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina and since 1581 he had been married to Ayşe sultan, daughter of Murad III.

30 Božidar Vuković was born in the Podgorica region in today's Montenegro in the late 1460s and left for Venice in 1496. There, the merchant Božidar Vuković established his printing press in 1520 and produced above all religious books. His son, Vićentije Vuković inherited the press and continued doing the work that his father started until 1597. In more detail see Vojin Dabić, 'Vuković, Božidar (Dionisio della Vecchia)', in Č. Popov (ed.), *Srpski biografski rečnik* 2 (Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 2006), p. 880.; Rajka Vujošević, *Štampar vojvoda Božidar Vuković Podgoričanin* (Titograd, Muzeji galerije, 1981); Evgenij L. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift. Bd. 4. Die Druckerei von Božidar Goraždanin in Goražde und Venedig. Die erste Druckerei von Božidar Vuković in Venedig*

The latter dispatched and sold, for instance, in 1563 over 600 books in Belgrade and in Vidin and Nikopol in today's Bulgaria. His brother was responsible for the dissemination and sale in Dalmatia.³¹ Vuković, however, had a depot in the Serbian Orthodox monastery in Mileševa located in southwest Serbia, too. The monks there also played an important role in selling the books.³² Further distribution points served Zara/Zadar in the North of Dalmatia,³³ Skopje in today's Macedonia³⁴ and Sarajevo in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina³⁵ with a bookshop each. Printing religious books in South-Slavic languages with the above mentioned specific typefaces by Italian publishers in Venice like Giorgio Rusconi or Aldus Manutius was in many cases commissioned and financed by wealthy merchants from Ragusa/Dubrovnik.³⁶

(Baden-Baden, Koerner, 2001). The University Library "Svetozar Marković" in Belgrade owns, for example, eight copies of his printed books. See Nikola Marković, 'The holdings concerning 15–18th century prints in the University Library "Svetozar Marković", Belgrade', in http://konyvtar.elte.hu/regi/hirek/rendezvenyek/2004/digit_konf/nm_ea.htm, accessed 10 January 2013.

- 31 See Jorjo Tadić, 'Testamenti Božidara Vukovića srpskog štampara XVI veka', *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta Beograd*, VII/3 (1963), pp. 345–348; Schmitz, *Südslawischer Buchdruck*, p. 276.
- 32 In more detail see Dušan J. Martinović, 'Štampar Božidar Vuković – Podgoričanin (oko 1460–1539) kao donator manastira Mileševe i osnivač prve srpske knjižare', in P. Vlahović & M. Rvović (eds.), *Simpozijum Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića: zbornik radova sa XVIII naučnog skupa "Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića" održanog 14.-16. junia 1996. godine u Domu revolucije Prijepolje* (proceedings) (Prijepolje, Dom Revolucije, 1998).
- 33 The bookshop of the merchant Jeronim Mirković in Zara/Zadar is documented from March 1519 on continuously until 1586. By 1522 Mirković had for instance already sold there, *inter alia*, one of the most important books of the Dalmatian humanist Marko Marulić. His epic poem "Libar marka Marula Splićanina u kom se uzdraži istorija svete udovice Judit u versih hrvacki složena" is based on the Old Testament story of Judith and Holofernes and was written in the Čakavian dialect in 1501 and printed in Venice in 1521. In 1586, however, in the bookshop of Mirković, a new edition of the same book was offered, printed by Marco Bindoni in Venice. See Schmitz, *Südslawischer Buchdruck*, p. 276. See also <http://www.knjizevni-krug.hr/marulianum/slike.asp>, accessed 10 January 2013.
- 34 The owner of the bookshop in Skopje in the late sixteenth century, Kara Trifun, had strong ties to the Venetian printer Hieronymus Zagurović who was born in Kotor in Montenegro. See Franz Leschinkohl, 'Venedig, das Druckzentrum serbischer Bücher im Mittelalter', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1957), p. 120; Schmitz, *Südslawischer Buchdruck*, p. 276.
- 35 The bookseller Ivan Padilo offered books of Venetian printers in early-seventeenth century Sarajevo. See Schmitz, *Südslawischer Buchdruck*, p. 277.
- 36 Franjo Ratković, for instance, initiated and financed the publishing of two South-Slavic religious books by Giorgio Rusconi in 1512. On 18 September 1512 in Ragusa/Dubrovnik he received two boxes with ca. 200 South-Slavic books from Venice which were printed in a

In the second half of the sixteenth century, however, a new centre of printing with Cyrillic and Glagolitian typefaces was established in Urach close to Tübingen with a clear agenda. The initiators and founders, the Protestant nobleman Hans Ungnad von Sonneck and the Slovene Protestant reformer Primuš Trubar left Styria and Carniola for the court of the Prince of Württemberg because of the counter-reformatory policy of the Habsburgs. Further main protagonists such as the Protestant humanists and priests Peter Paul Vergerius, Stephan Consul and Anton Dalmata fled from Istria and North-Dalmatia because of counter-reformatory policy of Venice.³⁷

Their main goal was to distribute the teachings and scripts of Reformation among South-Slavic-speaking Roman-Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire.³⁸ In that context they were well connected with the Protestant scholar Martin Crusius and his circle in Tübingen who had a similar idea concerning Greek Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, Crusius and the chancellor of the University of Tübingen, Jakob Andreae, went a step further: they were aiming at the union of the Protestant and the Greek Orthodox churches.³⁹ The founders of the print shop in Urach, however, had the above mentioned missionary work via printed books in vernacular languages as their focus. Primuš Trubar delineated this goal in the prefaces of the larger Catechisms and in the proof-copy of the smaller Catechism printed with a Glagolitian typeface in 1561 as follows:

Dan(n) wil man die rechte Gottselige vnd seligmachende Religion, vnder dem jungen vn(d) einfältigen volck vnd in der Türckey pflanzen vnd anrichten....⁴⁰

specific version of Cyrillic, the so-called Bošancica. In more detail see Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke*, pp. 49–50.

37 To these main protagonists and initiators of the press in more detail see Lorenz Heiligensetzer et al. (eds.), *„Treffliche schöne Biecher“. Hans Ungnads Büchergeschenk an die Universitätsbibliothek Basel im 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel, Schwabe, 2005), pp. 39–54.

38 See Strahinja Kotić, ‘Echo und Ausstrahlung der Uracher Reformationsdrucke und der Reformation bei den Serben vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert’, in R.-D. Kluge (ed.), *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen – Primus Trubar und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich* (Munich, Verlag Otto Sagner, 1995), p. 550.

39 In more detail see George Elias Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel. Martin Crusius und seine Verhandlungen mit der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche* (Göttingen, Gerstung & Lehmann, 1941).

40 Trubers Vorwort im größeren glagolitischen Katechismus (1561). Published in Alojz Jembrih, ‘Der wiederaufgefundene Probedruck des kleinen glagolitischen Katechismus

Dann es ist verhoffentlich, Gott der him(m)lisch Vatter, von wegen seines geliebten Sons, unsers Herrn unnd seligmachers, werde mit seinem heiligen Geist, durch den Catechismum, auch durch andere got-selige Bücher, die hernach getruckt werden, nicht allein auß den Crobotischen Völckern, ir vil von irem Aberglauben, sonder auch auß den Türcken, dieweil sie auch dieser Sprach und Geschrifften, sonderlich die Cyriliza (die wir auch, ob Gott will in kurtzem haben werden) gebrauchen, von dem Mahometischen, zu dem rechten, alten, waren, allein seligmachenden Christlichen Glauben bringen und bekören.⁴¹

This missionary work in the Ottoman lands was also the key argument for the financial support of the Prince of Württemberg, a few Protestant authorities in the South-German territories and even of Archduke Maximilian von Habsburg who was king of Bohemia at that time and a supporter of the Protestants.⁴² The latter offered, for instance, 400fl. at the beginning and promised further support for the print shop. Nevertheless, Hans Ungnad von Sonneck personally covered the majority of the costs.⁴³

von Stephan Konsul aus dem Jahr 1561', in R.-D. Kluge (ed.), *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen – Primus Truber und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich* (Munich, Verlag Otto Sagner, 1995), p. 479.

- 41 Trubers deutsches Vorwort im kleinen Probedruck des glagolitischen Katechismus (1561). Published in Jembrih, 'Der wiederaufgefundene Probedruck', p. 478.
- 42 The establishment and printing activities of the printing shop in Urach incurred expenses of 7800 fl to the summer of 1564. See Ferenc Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez* (Budapest, Balassi, 1995), p. 73. To the argument of missionary work in the Ottoman Empire in more detail see Peter Scherber, 'Abwehr oder Missionierung der Türken? Kulturelle Konzepte zur Zeit des Religionsfriedens als Entscheidungsbedingungen der slowenischen Literatur und Sprache', in R.-D. Kluge (ed.), *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen – Primus Truber und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich* (Munich, Verlag Otto Sagner, 1995), pp. 157–158.
- 43 See Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 945. In September 1561 Ungnad sent a messenger to the Lutheran Princes in Hesse, Saxony, Anhalt, Brandenburg, Prussia and Pomerania in order to ask for financial support for the print shop but he returned without notable results. Anyhow, the Lutheran Church in Württemberg donated 1500 fl and there were some private sponsors from Vienna as well. See Hermann Ehmer, 'Primus Truber und der südslawische Buchdruck in Urach', in R.-D. Kluge (ed.), *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen – Primus Truber und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich* (Munich, Verlag Otto Sagner, 1995), pp. 446–447.

He and the Slovene reformer developed a well-considered concept for the creation of and for the production in the printing shop: the translation of religious texts from Slovene into Croatian had already been provided by the above mentioned humanist scholars and Protestant priests Stephan Consul and Anton Dalmata before printing in Urach started, as a letter of Trubar to Ungnad from 1 April 1560 shows:

...zwen crobatisch briester nur alle meine offtgemeelte buecher in die crobatische sprach vnd buchstaben haben gebracht, vnd dieselbig sind von villen Crobatten vbersehen vnd approbirt, vnd haben ein groß verlangen, das sie bald gedrukht wurden, vnd sagen: sie warden grossen nucz nicht allein in Croatien vnd Dalmatien, sonder auch in der Turkhay biß gen Constantinopel schaffen....⁴⁴

In order to guarantee the comprehensibility of the printed texts in the objective regions Ungnad and Trubar explicitly looked for collaborators originating from the Ottoman lands: after searching for a long time two Orthodox priests, Matija Popović and Jovan Maleševac, who were born and raised in the Serbian and Bosnian territories of the Ottoman Empire, and a young 'Turk' were admitted to the team of the printing house in Urach.⁴⁵ Trubar informed Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg of the arrival of the popes in a letter from 27 October 1561 as follows:

...Und aber zur volendung des ganzen werckhs, so hab ich über das allen an meinem wiederumb herausziehen zwei Usckokische priester des griechischen Glaubens (under welchen der ain in Servia, der annder bey Boßna geboren und erczogen, und die etliche geschriebne fragmenta des neuen testaments jn crabatischer und cirulischen geschrift bey jnen haben) mit mir herauß und hierher..., welche uns hie außen auch helffen zu corrigiern. Haben schon allgerayt den catechißmum helffen corrigieren und seyen jeczto in der arbeit, das sie mit meinem gehülffen die evangelisten corrigieren....⁴⁶

44 Published in: Alojz Jembrih, 'Divergenzen in der Sprachauffassung Primus Trubers und Stephan Konsuls in Ungnads "Bibelanstalt"', in R.-D. Kluge (ed.), *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen – Primus Truber und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich* (Munich, Verlag Otto Sagner, 1995), p. 453.

45 Firstly, the initiators invited a certain Dimitrije who was a native Serbian and a former secretary of the Orthodox patriarch in Constantinople and the prince of Wallachia. In the end, he did not come to Urach. See Kotić, 'Echo und Ausstrahlung', p. 550; Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció*, S. 73.

46 Published in: Jembrih, 'Divergenzen in der Sprachauffassung', pp. 456–457.

Immediately after their arrival they were asked to proof the quality and comprehensibility of the translations as well as the cutting and casting of the Glagolitian and Cyrillic typeface – which they confirmed. Moreover, Popović and Maleševac emphasised that the printed books might be easy to understand and read not only for scholars and priests but for children and laypersons in the “whole of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria”.⁴⁷ The task of the young ‘Turk’ in the team in Urach can be – at this stage of research – not specified. There is also no information about an intention to use characters other than Glagolitian, Cyrillic and Latin.

Ungnad and Trubar, however, attached a great importance to print quality in general and to the quality of the Glagolitian and Cyrillic typefaces in particular. The Glagolitian typefaces were cut and designed after Venetian models – according to Trubar “so gutt vnnd besser als mans zu Vhenedig hatt”⁴⁸ – and patterns from Senj by the typographer Johannes Hartwach and cast by type founder Simon Auer in Nuremberg in 1560.⁴⁹ The Cyrillica, however, were cut and cast one year later in Urach in cooperation by typographers and type founders from Reutlingen and Nuremberg.⁵⁰

The print shop in Urach was not only well-organised but had high productivity: between 1561 and 1565, 37 books in Croatian and Slovene translations of the main texts of the Lutheran reformation were published with Glagolitian, Cyrillic and Latin typefaces in a total of 31,000 copies.⁵¹ The only challenge that the initiators and founders of the press, Ungnad and Trubar, faced was how they should get the books to the readers. Ungnad tried to co-operate with the Fuggers but they denied the request to distribute the books through their office in Istanbul.⁵² Mathes Klombner, a representative of the estates of Carniola, wrote in a letter to Ungnad dated 12 December 1561, that he had sent books from Urach to Venice and hoped to distribute them in the Ottoman lands

47 It is documented in the preface of the New Testament published in Urach in 1562. See Jembrih, ‘Divergenzen in der Sprachauffassung’, p. 458.

48 He wrote to Prince Christoph of Württemberg in Stuttgart in a letter dated 13 July 1560: “[...] Vnd die crabatiscchen [glagolitischen], namblich funfferlay alphabeth, so gutt vnnd besser als mans zu Vhenedig hatt, vnnd waß zu ainem ganczen truckh gehört, haben wir beihendig.” Published in: Jembrih, ‘Der wiederaufgefundene Probedruck’, p. 472.

49 See Karl Falkenstein, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in ihrer Entstehung und Ausbildung* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1840), p. 202.

50 See Reske, *Die Buchdrucker*, p. 945.

51 Ehmer, ‘Primus Trubar’, p. 450.

52 See Martin Kriebel, ‘Wolf Schreibers Mission im europäischen Südosten in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, 2 (1959), p. 21.

from there.⁵³ Furthermore, Hungarian merchants were involved in the transportation and sale of these books in the Ottoman Empire and one tried to establish a new distribution-network through Moldavia to Istanbul in 1562.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the agent and bookseller of Ungnad, Wolfgang Schreiber, was arrested as a 'Habsburg spy' in Moldavia and sent to Istanbul together with his books. After his imprisonment in the Ottoman capital in 1563 he tried to sell the books there.⁵⁵ We do not know (yet), however, how successful Schreiber and the other above mentioned attempts were. Books of the print shop in Urach were still available for purchase in the late sixteenth century in the bookshops in Istanbul but the main goal of the initiators, Ungnad and Trubar, of missionary work via printed books failed.⁵⁶

With the death of Hans Ungnad von Sonneck in December 1564 the *Windische, Chrabatische und Cirulische Truckerey* – as Ungnad it called – lost its most important patron. It is still unclear how its Glagolitian and Cyrillic typefaces found their way to Rome. It is assumed that they were confiscated by the Jesuits and/or they were a present from Emperor Ferdinand II, who was a strong supporter of the Counter-Reformation, for the Holy See.⁵⁷

The agenda and activities of the print shop in Urach did not, however, remain unknown to the representatives of the Catholic Church *ab initio*. It is still to be clarified whether the Vatican press used the Cyrillic typefaces from Urach or they had their own types also designed after Venetian models.⁵⁸ In the 1570s the deliberated plan for establishing the so-called *Typographia Medicea* was formulated and in 1577 the famous French typographer and

53 "Ich hab etlich ir (Bücher) auf Venedig verordnet, verhof woll ain khauf pekhumen. Wolt got. Man drückhets nach und fület die gancz Turkhey." See Kriebel, 'Wolf Schreibers Mission', p. 21.

54 See Tibor Grüll and István Monok, 'Der Katalog der Ungnad – Truber Druckerei in Urach (Tübingen) im Bestand des Stadtarchivs von Sopron (Ödenburg) in Ungarn', *Wolfenbüttler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* (1992), p. 77.

55 See Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció*, pp. 85–89.

56 For more detail see Kriebel, 'Wolf Schreibers Mission', pp. 39–40.

57 See Klaus Schreibner, 'Die Uracher Druckerei Hans Ungnads – ein Opfer der Gegenreformation?', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1972), pp. 217–236.

58 To this discussion see Božidar Pejčev, 'Kyrillischer Buchdruck in Tübingen/Urach (16. Jahrhundert) und in Rom (17. Jahrhundert)', in R.-D. Kluge (ed.), *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen – Primus Truber und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich* (Munich, Verlag Otto Sagner, 1995), pp. 489–491.

specialist of 'exotic types' Robert Granjon was invited to Rome.⁵⁹ This new print shop where Granjon worked was founded by Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici and the Orientalist Giovanni Baptista Raimondi; and strongly encouraged by Pope Gregory XIII. The main goal of publishing Roman-Catholic religious texts in Arabic – in addition to the publications of the Vatican press in South-Slavic languages – was to counteract the spread of the ideas of Reformation in the Ottoman Empire and similar to the enterprise in Urach to do missionary work via printed books in vernacular languages among Christians and Muslims there. The geographical focus of the publishing activity of the *Typographia Medicea* was, however, not in the Southeast European territories of the Ottoman Empire where South-Slavic-speaking population lived but more in the predominantly Arabic-speaking areas in North-Africa and in the Middle East. It was well-connected with the attempt of Pope Gregory XIII to unite the Eastern Churches with the Roman Papacy.⁶⁰ An undated report of the Orientalist Raimondi shows the significance of the proposed books printed with Arabic, Syrian/Chaldean, Abyssinian and Armenian typefaces and thereby of the typographer Granjon in this project:

...with regard to the type founding, we found that to execute this to the greatest perfection, several of the best men were sought, and among others, Robert Granjon of Paris, who excelled at cutting types in steel; for this Cardinal Fernando de Medici paid him,...; and he was the best cutter who ever lived. On top of that, Pope Gregory XIII gave him 300 scudi for each alphabet and by his generosity prevented him from travelling to Germany, as some transalpinians wished. The Pope also ordered that the punches would not leave Rome, for fear that the heretics would try to spread their word by means of the Arabic alphabet, especially in those Oriental countries....⁶¹

Raimondi refers here to the efforts of the German Protestant orientalists, Jacob Christmann and Rutger Spey to establish an oriental press – at the territory of the Prince of Württemberg where the print shop of Urach was also located – in

59 See Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Cyrillic & oriental typography in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century. An inquiry into the later work of Robert Granjon (1578–1590)* (Berkeley, Poltroon Press, 1981).

60 See Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 74–75.

61 Published in Vervliet, *Cyrillic & oriental typography*, p. 24.

the early 1580s.⁶² The role of printing in the rivalry between Protestantism and Catholicism for the 'spiritual conquest' of the Ottoman territories delineated Spey as follows:

Once the New Testament has been printed for the first time in Arabic and multiplied through the art of printing and spread over Asia and Africa, the result would be much greater than by sending several thousand missionaries, who do not know Arabic.⁶³

Similar to the founders of the print shop in Urach print quality in general and the quality of the typefaces in particular was of high importance for the initiators of the *Typographia Medicea*. Pope Gregory XIII, for instance, was not satisfied with the Arabic typefaces used by the Jesuits in the 1560s in Rome under the Pontificate of Pius IV and preferred Granjon's newly developed typefaces.⁶⁴

The *Typographia Medicea* was, however, also a commercial enterprise: this is underlined by the massive financial investment undertaken by the founder of the press, Cardinal Fernando de Medici.⁶⁵ On the other hand it is shown by the fact that there in addition to the above mentioned religious books Arabic grammars and further profane works on geography, medicine and geometry were published in Arabic as well. The purpose and intention of these scholarly publications such as the Canon of Avicenna or an Arabic translation of Euclid's Elements was to make money for the press by selling them in the territories of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁶ Concerning these printed books the Ottomans, however, were not only up-to-date but very much interested in them. It is shown by the fact that in 1588 a *ferman* of sultan Murad III explicitly allowed and recommended the import of non-religious European books with Arabic typefaces for the Ottoman market. This *ferman* in Ottoman-Turkish was also printed in the *Typographia Medicea* in Rome and appended to the Arabic text of Euclid.⁶⁷

62 See M. Johann Andreä Fabricii, *Abriß einer allgemeinen Historie der Gelehrsamkeit* (Leipzig, in der Weidmannischen Handlung, 1754), vol. 3, p. 150.

63 Published in Vervliet, *Cyrillic & oriental typography*, p. 25.

64 See Vervliet, *Cyrillic & oriental typography*, p. 28.

65 To this commercial enterprise of the founder see Robert Jones, 'The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584–1614) and the impact of its Arabic publications in northern Europe', in G.A. Russel (ed.), *The 'Arabic' interest of the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England* (Leiden, Brill, 1994), pp. 89–90.

66 See Gerald Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning. The study of Arabic in seventeenth century England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 22.

67 See Jones, 'The Medici Oriental Press', p. 97.

The imitation of the book design of Arabic manuscripts also underlines the fact that these products of commercial enterprise were exclusively directed towards the Ottoman market.⁶⁸

The book production of the *Typographia Medicea* was based on manuscripts collected by the Orientalist Raimondi⁶⁹ and by the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Eliano who was, for instance, in February 1578, explicitly sent by Pope Gregory XIII to the Maronite Church with the special duty of finding manuscripts for editing and printing the Arabic Bible.⁷⁰ One has also to refer to the library of the Jacobite patriarch Ignatius Ni'matallah which he took with him to Rome in 1577. Raimondi had access to its manuscripts and the patriarch could give advice on editing the texts⁷¹ – as the Orthodox popes did in Urach.

The main challenge for the founders and initiators of the *Typographia Medicea* – similar to the print shop in Urach – was how they should bring the books to the readers. It is documented that the founder Cardinal Fernando de Medici requested Florentine merchants to investigate the readiness of Muslims to receive printed books.⁷² They must also have been involved in the distribution and sale of the books in the Ottoman Empire. In addition proof sheets and representation copies were sent to several regions of North Africa and the Middle East: in June 1587, for instance, the first two pages of the geographical work of Idrisi were sent to Istanbul and Cairo, in 1595 Canon of Avicenna, Euclid's Elements, Idrisi's work and a copy of the Gospels were given to a Maronite priest leaving for the Middle East. Further copies of the Gospels were

68 See *ibid.* Concerning book design of Arabic manuscripts imitated by print in general see Yasemin Gencer, 'Ibrahim Müteferrika and the age of the printed manuscript', in Chr. Gruber (ed.), *The Islamic manuscript tradition. Ten centuries of book arts in Indiana University collections* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 154–193.

69 In the 1570s he undertook a journey to the Arabic provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It is not clear how many manuscripts he acquired during this journey. But in Rome it was not difficult to get access to merchants and diplomatic and missionary agents who visited these countries on regular basis. See Jones Robert, 'Piracy, war, and the acquisition of Arabic manuscripts in Renaissance Europe', *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 2 (1987), p. 98.

70 See Ronny Vollandt, 'The Arabic Pentateuch of the parish polyglott: Saadiah Gaon's advent to the Republic of Letters', in S. Binay & St. Lederer (eds.), *Translating the Bible into Arabic. Historical, text critical and literary aspects* (Beirut, Orient Institute Beirut, 2012), p. 28.

71 See George Saliba, *Islamic science and the making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 2007), p. 229.

72 See Jones, 'The Medici Oriental Press', p. 97.

dispatched to the Patriarch of Alexandria and to Jerusalem in 1595–1596.⁷³ However, similar to the print shop of Urach, we do not exactly know (yet), how successful these distribution and sale attempts were. The main goal of establishing this press to do missionary work via printed books failed also in this case. A further similarity is that after the death of the initiator Raimondi in 1614, the *Typographia Medicea* effectively ceased operation.

Conclusion

Contrary to the Ottoman's supposed lack of interest and knowledge about print culture in general and printed books in particular this essay shows that from the mid-fifteenth century on, close cultural and mercantile ties between the Ottoman Empire and the European book market had been established. Moreover, printing houses of different non-Muslim religious groups underline that the Ottoman Empire has to be considered an integral part of the early modern book world. The printers and publishers of those printing houses specialised in the production of liturgical books for their own religious community. They were well-connected and associated with printers in Venice and the German territories: most of them learned their skills there and bought the equipment for their print shops in Central Europe. Therefore, these printing houses exemplify and underline cultural exchange processes between the Ottoman Empire and the above mentioned territories.

The establishment of the *Windische, Chrabatische und Cirulische Truckerey* in Urach and of the *Typographia Medicea* in Rome and their objectives and targets show the importance of the Ottoman book market in general and of printed books in vernacular languages in particular within the rivalry between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. Both Protestant and Catholic founders of above presented printing houses had a clear idea about what they should print, about the texts and who their readers were. They followed a well-considered strategy, had wealthy sponsors and patrons and they were encouraged by natives from the target regions. Furthermore, they hired well experienced and specialised typographers in order to offer good print quality together with a high number of copies. Their missionary goal, however, failed. In which ways and to what extent these specialists books reached and formed the Ottoman market can only be clarified by further research in the archives and libraries in the territories of the former Ottoman Empire.

73 See *ibid.*

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